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THE

ANNALS

OF

TACITUS.

VOL. IV.

THE

WORKS

OF

CORNELIUS TACITUS;

BY

ARTHUR MURPHY, ESQ.

WITH AN

ESSAY ON THE LIFE AND GENIUS OF TACITUS;

NOTES, SUPPLEMENTS, AND MAPS.

Præcipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes sileantur, utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate et infamiâ metus sit.

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IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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A

TREATISE

ON THE

SITUATION, MANNERS, AND PEOPLE

OF

GERMANY.

GERMANY,
Designed for the Works of
TACITUS,
by Robert de Vaugondy,
Royal Geographer,
and Fellow of the Royal Academy at Nantz
OCEANUS
MARE SUEVICUM
GERMANIA
GALLIA
ITALIA
SUEVI
VANDALI
HERMIONES
ILLYRICUM
Alpes
Pannonia
DACI
Treverorum
Vangiones
Vindelici
Helvetii
Boii
Marcomanni
Quadi
Semnones
Lygii
Gothones
Suardones
Reudigni
Aviones
Varini
Eudoses
Angli
Chauci
Frisii
Chamavi
Ubii
Mattiaci
Helvetii
Boihemum
Elysii
Burii
Manimi
Naharuali
Osi
Peucini
Bastarnæ
Venedi
Aquileia
Vindelicorum

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This tract was compoſed by Tacitus in the

Year of Rome	of Chriſt	Conſuls
851	98	*Nerva, the 4th time.*
		Trajan, the 2d.

A

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ON THE

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OF

GERMANY.

I. THE whole vaſt country of Germany (*a*) is ſeparated from Gaul (*b*), from Rhætia and Pannonia, by the Rhine and the Danube; from Dacia and Sarmatia, by a chain of mountains (*c*), and, where the mountains ſubſide, mutual dread forms a ſufficient barrier. The reſt is bounded by the ocean, embracing in its depth of water, ſeveral ſpacious bays (*d*), and iſlands of prodigious extent, whoſe kings and people are now, in ſome meaſure, known to us, the progreſs of our arms having made (*e*) recent diſcoveries. The Rhine has its ſource on the ſteep and lofty ſummits of the Rhætian Alps (*f*), from which it

it precipitates, and, after winding towards the weſt, directs its courſe through a long tract of country, and falls into the Northern Ocean. The Danube, guſhing down the ſoft and gentle declivity of the mountain Abnoba (*g*), viſits ſeveral nations in its progreſs, and at laſt, through ſix channels (the ſeventh is abſorbed in fens and marſhes), diſcharges itſelf into the Pontic Sea.

II. The Germans, there is reaſon to think, are an indigenous race (*a*), the original natives of the country, without any intermixture of adventitious ſettlers from other nations. In the early ages of the world, the adventurers, who iſſued forth in queſt of new habitations, did not traverſe extenſive tracts of land (*b*); the firſt migrations were made by ſea. Even at this day the Northern Ocean, vaſt, and boundleſs, and, as I may ſay, always at enmity with mariners (*c*), is ſeldom navigated by ſhips from our quarter of the world. Putting the dangers of a turbulent and unknown ſea out of the caſe, who would leave the ſofter climes of Aſia, Africa, or Italy, to fix his abode (*d*) in Germany? where nature offers nothing but ſcenes of deformity; where the inclemency of the ſeaſons never relents; where the land preſents a dreary region, without form or culture, and, if we except the affection of a native for his mother country, without an allurement to make life ſupportable. In old ſongs and ballads (*e*), the only memorials of antiquity amongſt them, the god Tuiſto (*f*), who was born of the Earth, and Mannus, his ſon, are celebrated as the founders of the German race. Mannus (*g*), it is ſaid, had three ſons, from whom the Ingævones, who border on the ſea-coaſt; the Hermiones, who inhabit the midland country; and the Iſtævones, who occupy the

the remaining tract, have all respectively derived their names. Some, indeed, taking advantage of the obscurity that hangs over remote and fabulous ages, ascribe to the god Tuisto a more numerous issue, and thence trace the names of various tribes, such as the Marsians, the Gambrivians (*h*), the Suevians, and the Vandals (*i*). The ancient date and authenticity of those names are, as they contend, clearly ascertained. The word Germany (*k*) is held to be of modern addition. In support of this hypothesis, they tell us that the people, who first passed the Rhine, and took possession of a canton in Gaul, though known at present by the name of Tungrians, were, in that expedition, called Germans, and thence the title assumed by a band of emigrants, in order to spread a general terror in their progress, extended itself by degrees, and became, in time, the appellation of a whole people. They have a current tradition that Hercules (*l*) visited those parts. When rushing to battle, they sing, in preference to all other heroes, the praises of that ancient worthy.

III. The Germans abound with rude strains of verse, the reciters of which, in the language of the country, are called Bards (*a*). With this barbarous poetry they inflame their minds with ardour in the day of action, and prognosticate the event from the impression which it happens to make on the minds of the soldiers, who grow terrible to the enemy, or despair of success, as the war-song (*b*) produces an animated or a feeble sound. Nor can their manner of chanting this savage prelude be called the tone of human organs: it is rather a furious uproar; a wild chorus of military virtue. The vociferation used upon these occasions is uncouth and harsh, at intervals interrupted by the application of

of their bucklers to their mouths, and by the repercuſſion burſting out with redoubled force. An opinion prevails among them, that Ulyſſes, in the courſe of thoſe wanderings, which are ſo famous in poetic ſtory, was driven into the Northern Ocean, and that, having penetrated into the country, he built, on the banks of the Rhine, the city of Aſciburgium (*c*), which is inhabited at this day, and ſtill retains the name given originally by the founder. It is further added, that an altar dedicated to Ulyſſes (*d*), with the name of Laertes, his father, engraved upon it, was formerly diſcovered at Aſciburgium. Mention is likewiſe made of certain monuments and tomb-ſtones, ſtill to be ſeen on the confines of Germany and Rhætia, with epitaphs, or inſcriptions, in Greek characters. But theſe aſſertions it is not my intention either to eſtabliſh or to refute: the reader will yield, or withhold his aſſent, according to his judgment or his fancy.

IV. I HAVE already acceded to the opinion of thoſe, who think that the Germans have hitherto ſubſiſted without intermarrying with other nations, a pure, unmixed, and independent race, unlike any other people, all bearing the marks of a diſtinct national character. Hence, what is very remarkable in ſuch prodigious numbers, a family-likeneſs throughout the nation; the ſame form and feature (*a*), ſtern blue eyes, ruddy hair, their bodies large and robuſt, but powerful only in ſudden efforts. They are impatient of toil and labour; thirſt and heat overcome them; but, from the nature of their ſoil and climate, they are proof againſt cold and hunger.

V. THE face of the country, though in ſome parts varied, preſents a cheerleſs ſcene, covered with

with the gloom of foreſts, or deformed with wide extended marſhes; towards the boundaries of Gaul, moiſt and ſwampy; on the ſide of Noricum (*a*) and Pannonia, more expoſed to the fury of the winds. Vegetation thrives with ſufficient vigour. The ſoil produces grain, but is unkind to fruit-trees (*b*); well ſtocked with cattle, but of an underſize, and deprived by nature of the uſual growth and ornament of the head. The pride of a German conſiſts in the number of his flocks and herds: they are his only riches, and in theſe he places his chief delight. Gold and ſilver are withheld from them; is it by the favour or the wrath of Heaven? I do not, however, mean to aſſert (*c*) that in Germany there are no veins of precious ore; for who has been a miner in thoſe regions? Certain it is, they do not enjoy the poſſeſſion and uſe of thoſe metals with our ſenſibility. There are, indeed, ſilver veſſels to be ſeen amongſt them, but they were preſents to their chiefs or ambaſſadors; the Germans regard them in no better light than common earthenware. It is, however, obſervable, that near the borders of the empire, the inhabitants ſet a value upon gold and ſilver, finding them ſubſervient to the purpoſes of commerce. The Roman coin is known in thoſe parts, and ſome of our ſpecie is not only current, but in requeſt. In places more remote, the ſimplicity of ancient manners ſtill prevails: commutation of property is their only traffic. Where money paſſes in the way of barter, our old coin is the moſt acceptable, particularly that which is indented at the edge, or ſtamped with the impreſſion of a chariot and two horſes, called the SERRATI and BIGATI (*d*). Silver is preferred to gold, not from caprice or fancy (*e*), but becauſe the inferior metal is of more

more expeditious uſe in the purchaſe of low-priced commodities.

VI. IRON does not abound in Germany (*a*), if we may judge from the weapons in general uſe. Swords and large lances are ſeldom ſeen. The ſoldier graſps his javelin, or, as it is called in their language, his FRAM; an inſtrument tipt with a ſhort and narrow piece of iron, ſharply pointed, and ſo commodious, that as occaſion requires, he can manage it in cloſe engagement, or in diſtant combat. With this, and a ſhield, the cavalry is completely armed. The infantry have an addition of miſſive weapons. Each man carries a conſiderable number, and, being naked, or, at leaſt, not incumbered by his light mantle, he throws his weapon to a diſtance almoſt incredible. A German has no attention (*b*) to the ornament of his perſon: his ſhield is the object of his care, and this he decorates with the livelieſt colours. Breaſt-plates are uncommon. In a whole army you will not ſee more than one or two helmets. Their horſes have neither ſwiftneſs nor elegance of ſhape, nor are they trained to the various evolutions of the Roman cavalry (*c*). To advance in a direct line, or wheel ſuddenly to the right, is the whole of their ſkill, and this they perform in ſo compact a body, that not one is thrown out of his rank. According to the beſt eſtimate, the infantry form the national ſtrength, and, for that reaſon, always fight intermixed with the cavalry (*d*). The flower of their youth, able by their vigour and activity to pace with the movements of the horſe, are ſelected for this purpoſe, and placed in the front of the lines. The number of theſe is fixed and certain: each canton ſends a hundred: from that circumſtance called HUNDREDORS (*e*) by the army. The name was at firſt numerical only; it

it is now a title of honour. Their order of battle preſents the form of a wedge (*f*). To give ground in the heat of action, provided you return to the charge, is military ſkill, not fear, or cowardice. In the moſt fierce and obſtinate engagement, even when the fortune of the day is doubtful (*g*), they make it a point to carry off their ſlain. To abandon their ſhield is a flagitious crime. The perſon guilty of it is interdicted from religious rites, and excluded from the aſſembly of the ſtate. Many, who ſurvived their honour on the day of battle, have cloſed a life of ignominy by a halter.

VII. The kings in Germany (*a*) owe their election to the nobility of their birth; the generals are choſen for their valour. The power of the former is not arbitrary or unlimited (*b*); the latter command more by warlike example, than by their authority. To be of a prompt and daring ſpirit in battle, and to attack in the front of the lines, is the popular character of the chieftain: when admired for his bravery, he is ſure to be obeyed. Juriſdiction is veſted in the prieſts. It is theirs to ſit in judgment upon all offences. By them, delinquents are put in irons, and chaſtiſed with ſtripes. The power of puniſhing is in no other hands (*c*). When exerted by the prieſts, it has neither the air of vindictive juſtice, nor of military execution; it is rather a religious ſentence, inflicted with the ſanction of the god, who, according to the German creed, attends their armies on the day of battle. To impreſs on their minds the idea of a tutelar deity, they carry with them to the field certain images and banners, taken from their uſual depoſitory, the religious groves (*d*). A circumſtance which greatly tends to inflame them with heroic ardour, is the manner in which their battalions

battalions are formed. They are neither muſtered, nor embodied by chance. They fight in clans, united by conſanguinity, a family of warriors. Their tendereſt pledges (*e*) are near them in the field. In the heat of the engagement, the ſoldier hears the ſhrieks of his wife, and the cries of his children. Theſe are the darling witneſſes of his conduct, the applauders of his valour, at once beloved and valued. The wounded ſeek their mothers and their wives: undiſmayed at the ſight, the women count each honourable ſcar, and ſuck the guſhing blood. They are even hardy enough to mix with the combatants, adminiſtering refreſhment, and exhorting them to deeds of valour.

VIII. From tradition, they have a variety of inſtances of armies put to the rout, and by the interpoſition of their wives and daughters again incited to renew the charge. Their women ſaw the ranks give way, and ruſhing forward in the inſtant, by the vehemence of their cries and ſupplications, by oppoſing (*a*) their breaſts to danger, and by repreſenting the horrors of ſlavery, reſtored the order of the battle. To a German mind the idea of a woman led into captivity is inſupportable. In conſequence of this prevailing ſentiment, the ſtates, which deliver as hoſtages the daughters of illuſtrious families, are bound by the moſt effectual obligation. There is, in their opinion, ſomething ſacred in the female ſex (*b*), and even the power of foreſeeing future events. Their advice is, therefore, always heard; they are frequently conſulted, and their reſponſes are deemed oracular. We have ſeen, in the reign of Veſpaſian, the famous Veleda (*c*) revered as a divinity by her countrymen. Before her time, Aurinia and others were held in equal veneration; but a veneration founded on ſenti-

ment

ment and ſuperſtition, free from that ſervile adulation which pretends to people heaven with human deities.

IX. Mercury is the god (*a*) chiefly adored in Germany. On ſtated days they think it lawful to offer to him human victims. They ſacrifice to Hercules and Mars (*b*) ſuch animals as are uſually ſlain in honour of the gods. In ſome parts of the country of the Suevians, the worſhip of Iſis (*c*) is eſtabliſhed. To trace the introduction of ceremonies, which had their growth in another part of the world, were an inveſtigation for which I have no materials: ſuffice it to ſay, that the figure of a ſhip (the ſymbolic repreſentation of the goddeſs) clearly ſhews that the religion was imported into the country. Their deities are not immured in temples, nor repreſented under any kind of reſemblance to the human form. To do either were, in their opinion (*d*), to derogate from the majeſty of ſuperior beings. Woods and groves (*e*) are the ſacred depoſitaries; and the ſpot being conſecrated to thoſe pious uſes, they give to that ſacred receſs the name of the divinity that fills the place, which is never prophaned by the ſteps of man. The gloom fills every mind with awe; revered at a diſtance, and never ſeen but with the eye of contemplation.

X. Their attention to auguries, and the practice of divining by lots (*a*), is conducted with a degree of ſuperſtition not exceeded by any other nation. Their mode of proceeding by lots is wonderfully ſimple. The branch of a fruit-tree is cut into ſmall pieces, which, being all diſtinctly marked, are thrown at random on a white garment. If a queſtion of public intereſt be depending, the prieſt of the canton performs the ceremony; if it be nothing more than a private concern, the maſter

maſter of the family (*b*) officiates. With fervent prayers offered up to the gods, his eyes devoutly raiſed to heaven, he holds up three times each ſegment of the twig, and as the marks riſe in ſucceſſion, interprets the decrees of fate. If appearances prove unfavourable, there ends all conſultation for that day: if, on the other hand, the chances are propitious, they require, for greater certainty, the ſanction of auſpices. The well known ſuperſtition, which in other countries conſults the flight and notes of birds, is alſo eſtabliſhed in Germany; but to receive intimations of future events from horſes (*c*) is the peculiar credulity of the country. For this purpoſe a number of milk-white ſteeds, unprophaned by mortal labour, is conſtantly maintained at the public expence, and placed to paſture in the religious groves. When occaſion requires, they are harneſſed to a ſacred chariot, and the prieſt, accompanied by the king, or chief the ſtate, attends to watch the motions and the neighing of the horſes. No other mode of augury is received with ſuch implicit faith by the people, the nobility, and the prieſthood. The horſes, upon theſe ſolemn occaſions, are ſuppoſed to be the organs of the gods, and the prieſts their favoured interpreters. They have ſtill another way of prying into futurity, to which they have recourſe, when anxious to know the iſſue of an important war. They ſeize by any means in their power, a captive (*d*) from the adverſe nation, and commit him in ſingle combat with a champion ſelected from their own army. Each is provided with weapons after the manner of his country, and the victory, wherever it falls, is deemed a ſure prognoſtic of the event.

XI. In matters of inferior moment the chiefs decide (*a*); important queſtions are reſerved for the whole community. Yet even in thoſe caſes,

where all have a voice, the buſineſs is diſcuſſed and prepared by the chiefs. The general aſſembly, if no ſudden alarm calls the people together, has its fixed and ſtated periods, either at the new or full moon (*b*). This is thought the ſeaſon moſt propitious to public affairs. Their account of time differs from that of the Romans: inſtead of days, they reckon the number of nights (*c*). Their public ordinances are ſo dated; and their proclamations run in the ſame ſtyle. The night, according to them, leads the day. Their paſſion for liberty is attended with this ill conſequence: when a public meeting is announced, they never aſſemble at the ſtated time. Regularity would look like obedience: to mark their independent ſpirit, they do not convene at once, but two or three days are loſt in delay. When they think themſelves ſufficiently numerous, the buſineſs begins. Each man takes his ſeat (*d*), completely armed. Silence is proclaimed by the prieſts, who ſtill retain their coercive authority. The king (*e*), or chief of the community, opens the debate: the reſt are heard in their turn, according to age, nobility of deſcent, renown in war, or fame for eloquence. No man dictates to the aſſembly: he may perſuade, but cannot command. When any thing is advanced not agreeable to the people, they reject it with a general murmur. If the propoſition pleaſes, they brandiſh their javelins. This is their higheſt, and moſt honourable mark of applauſe: they aſſent in a military manner, and praiſe by the ſound of their arms.

XII. In this council of the ſtate accuſations are exhibited, and capital offences proſecuted. Pains and penalties are proportioned to the na-

ture of the crime. For treaſon and deſertion (*a*), the ſentence is to be hanged on a tree: the coward, and ſuch as are guilty of unnatural practices (*b*), are plunged under a hurdle into bogs and fens. In theſe different puniſhments the point and ſpirit of the law is, that crimes, which affect the ſtate, may be expoſed to public notoriety: infamous vice (*c*) cannot be too ſoon buried in oblivion. He, who is convicted of tranſgreſſions of an inferior nature (*d*), pays a mulct of horſes, or of cattle. Part of that fine goes to the king (*e*), or the community, and part to the perſon injured, or to his family. It is in theſe aſſemblies that princes are choſen (*f*), and chiefs elected to act as magiſtrates in the ſeveral cantons of the ſtate. To each of theſe judicial officers aſſiſtants are appointed from the body of the people, to the number of a hundred, who attend to give their advice, and ſtrengthen the hands of juſtice.

XIII. A German tranſacts no buſineſs, public or private, without being completely armed (*a*). The right of carrying arms is aſſumed by no perſon whatever, till the ſtate has declared him duly qualified. The young candidate is introduced before the aſſembly, where one of the chiefs, or his father, or ſome near relation, provides him (*b*) with a ſhield and javelin. This, with them, is the manly gown (*c*): the youth from that moment ranks as a citizen: till then he was conſidered as part of the houſe-hold: he is now a member of the commonwealth. In honour of illuſtrious birth, and to mark the ſenſe men entertain of the father's merit, the ſon, though yet of tender years, is called to the dignity of a prince or chief. Such as are grown up to manhood, and have ſignalized themſelves by a ſpirit of enterpriſe, have always a number

number of retainers in their train. Where merit is conſpicuous, no man bluſhes to be ſeen in the liſt of followers, or companions (*d*). A clanſhip is formed in this manner, with degrees of rank and ſubordination. The chief judges the pretenſions of all, and aſſigns to each man his proper ſtation. A ſpirit of emulation prevails among his whole train, all ſtruggling to be the firſt in favour, while the chief places all his glory in the nunber and intrepidity of his COMPANIONS. In that conſiſts his dignity (*e*): to be ſurrounded by a band of young men is the ſource of his power; in peace, his brighteſt ornament; in war, his ſtrongeſt bulwark. Nor is his fame confined to his own country; it extends to foreign nations, and is then of the firſt importance, if he ſurpaſſes his rivals in the number and courage of his followers. He receives preſents from all parts: ambaſſadors are ſent to him; and his name alone is often ſufficient to decide the iſſue of a war.

XIV. IN the field of action, it is diſgraceful to the prince to be ſurpaſſed in valour by his COMPANIONS; and not to vie with him in martial deeds, is equally a reproach to his followers. If he dies in the field, he who ſurvives him (*a*) ſurvives to live in infamy. All are bound to defend their leader, to ſuccour him in the heat of action, and to make even their own actions ſubſervient to his renown. This is the bond of union, the moſt ſacred obligation. The chief fights for victory; the followers for their chief. If, in the courſe of a long peace, the people relax into ſloth and indolence, it often happens that the young nobles ſeek a more active life (*b*) in the ſervice of other ſtates engaged in war. The German mind cannot brook repoſe. The field of danger is the field of glo-

ry. Without violence and rapine a train of dependants cannot be maintained. The chief muſt ſhew his liberality, and the follower expects it. He demands (*c*) at one time this warlike horſe, at another, that victorious lance imbrued with the blood of the enemy. The prince's table, however inelegant, muſt always be plentiful: it is the only pay of his followers. War and depredation are the ways and means of the chieftain. To cultivate the earth, and wait the regular produce of the ſeaſons, is not the maxim of a German: you will more eaſily perſuade him to attack the enemy, and provoke honourable wounds in the field of battle. In a word, to earn by the ſweat of your brow, what you may gain by the price of your blood, is, in the opinion of a German, a ſluggiſh principle, unworthy of a ſoldier.

XV. When the ſtate has no war to manage, the German mind is ſunk in ſloth. The chaſe (*a*) does not afford ſufficient employment. The time is paſſed in ſleep and gluttony. The intrepid warrior, who in the field braved every danger, becomes in time of peace a liſtleſs ſluggard. The management of his houſe and lands he leaves to the women, to the old men, and the infirm part of his family. He himſelf lounges in ſtupid repoſe, by a wonderful diverſity of nature (*c*), exhibiting in the ſame man the moſt inert averſion to labour, and the fierceſt principle of action. It is a cuſtom eſtabliſhed in the ſeveral ſtates, to preſent a contribution of corn and cattle (*c*) to their chieftains. Individuals follow the example, and this bounty proves at once an honour to the prince, and his beſt ſupport. Preſents are alſo ſent from the adjacent ſtates, as well by private perſons, as in the name of the community. Nothing is ſo flattering to the pride

of

of the chiefs as thoſe foreign favours, conſiſting of the beſt horſes, magnificent armour, ſplendid harneſs (*d*), and beautiful collars. The Romans have lately taught them to receive preſents of money (*e*).

XVI. The Germans, it is well known, have no regular cities (*a*); nor do they allow a continuity of houſes. They dwell in ſeparate habitations, diſperſed up and down, as a grove, a meadow, or a fountain happens to invite. They have villages, but not, in our faſhion, with a ſeries of connected buildings. Every tenement ſtands detached, with a vacant piece of ground round it (*b*), either to prevent accidents by fire, or for want of ſkill in the art of building. They neither know the uſe of mortar nor of tiles. They build with rude materials, regardleſs of beauty, order, and proportion. Particular parts are covered over with a kind of earth ſo ſmooth and ſhining, that the natural veins have ſome reſemblance to the lights and ſhades of painting. Beſides theſe habitations, they have a number of ſubterraneous caves (*c*), dug by their own labour, and carefully covered over with dung; in winter their retreat from cold, and the repoſitory of their corn. In thoſe receſſes they not only find a ſhelter from the rigour of the ſeaſon, but in times of foreign invaſion their effects are ſafely concealed. The enemy lays waſte the open country, but the hidden treaſure eſcapes the general ravage; ſafe in its obſcurity, or becauſe the ſearch would be attended with too much trouble.

XVII. The clothing in uſe is a looſe mantle (*a*), made faſt with a claſp, or, when that cannot be had, with a thorn. Naked in other reſpects, they loiter away whole days by the fire-ſide (*b*). The rich wear a garment, not, indeed, diſplayed and

and flowing, like the Parthians, or the people of Sarmatia, but drawn ſo tight, that the form of the limbs is palpably expreſſed (*c*). The ſkins of wild animals are alſo much in uſe. Near the frontier, on the borders of the Rhine, the inhabitants wear them, but with an air of neglect, that ſhews them altogether indifferent about the choice. The people, who live more remote, near the northern ſeas (*d*), and have not acquired by commerce a taſte for new-faſhioned apparel, are more curious in the ſelection. They chooſe particular beaſts, and having ſtripped off the furs, clothe themſelves with the ſpoil, decorated with party-coloured ſpots, or fragments taken from the ſkins of fiſh, that ſwim the ocean as yet unexplored by the Romans. In point of dreſs there is no diſtinction between the ſexes, except that the garment of the women is frequently made of linen, adorned with purple ſtains, but without ſleeves, leaving the arms and part of the boſom uncovered.

XVIII. Marriage is conſidered as a ſtrict and ſacred inſtitution (*a*). In the national character there is nothing ſo truly commendable. To be contented with one wife is peculiar to the Germans. They differ, in this reſpect, from all other ſavage nations. There are, indeed, a few inſtances of polygamy; not, however, the effect of looſe deſire, but occaſioned by the ambition of various families, who court the alliance of the chief diſtinguiſhed by the nobility of his rank and character. The bride brings no portion; ſhe receives a dowry from her huſband. In the preſence of her parents and relations he makes a tender of part of his wealth: if accepted, the match is approved. In the choice of the preſents, female vanity is not conſulted. There are no frivolous trinkets to adorn the future bride. The whole fortune conſiſts of oxen, a

capariſoned

caparisoned horse, a shield, a spear, and a sword. She in return delivers a present of arms, and, by this exchange of gifts, the marriage is concluded. This is the nuptial ceremony, this the bond of union, these their hymeneal gods. Lest the wife should think her sex an exemption from the rigours of the severest virtue, and the toils of war, she is informed of her duty by the marriage ceremony, and thence she learns, that she is received by her husband to be his partner in toil and danger, to dare with him in war, and suffer with him in peace. The oxen yoked, the horse accoutred, and the arms given on the occasion, inculcate this lesson; and thus she is prepared to live, and thus to die. These are the terms of their union: she receives her armour as a sacred treasure, to be preserved inviolate, and transmitted with honour to her sons (*b*), a portion for their wives, and from them descendible to her grand-children.

XIX. In consequence of these manners, the married state is a life of affection and female constancy. The virtue of the woman is guarded from seduction: no public spectacles (*a*) to seduce her; no banquets to inflame her passions; no baits of pleasure to disarm her virtue. The art of intriguing by clandestine letters (*b*) is unknown to both sexes. Populous as the country is, adultery is rarely heard of: when detected, the punishment is instant, and inflicted (*c*) by the husband. He cuts off the hair of his guilty wife (*d*), and, having assembled her relations, expels her naked from his house, pursuing her with stripes through the village. To public loss of honour no favour is shewn. She may possess beauty, youth, and riches; but a husband she can never obtain. Vice is not treated by the Germans as a subject of raillery, nor is the profligacy

ſligacy of corrupting and being corrupted called the faſhion of the age (*e*). By the practice of ſome ſtates, female virtue is advanced to ſtill higher perfection: with them none but virgins marry (*f*). When the bride has fixed her choice, her hopes of matrimony are cloſed for life. With one huſband, as with one life, one mind, one body, every woman is ſatisfied: in him her happineſs is centered; her deſires extend no farther; and the principle is not only an affection for her huſband's perſon, but a reverence for the married ſtate (*g*). To ſet limits to population, by rearing up only a certain number of children, and deſtroying the reſt (*h*), is accounted a flagitious crime. Among the ſavages of Germany virtuous manners operate more (*i*) than good laws in other countries.

XX. In every family the children are reared up in filth (*a*). They run about naked, and in time grow up to that ſtrength and ſize of limb which we behold with wonder. The infant is nouriſhed at the mother's breaſt, not turned over to nurſes and to ſervants. No diſtinction is made between the future chieftain and the infant ſon of a common ſlave. On the ſame ground, and mixed with the ſame cattle, they paſs their days, till the age of manhood draws the line of ſeparation (*b*), and early valour ſhews the perſon of ingenuous birth. It is generally late before their young men enjoy the pleaſures of love (*c*); by conſequence, they are not enfeebled in their prime. Nor are the virgins married too ſoon. Both parties wait to attain their full growth. In the warm ſeaſon of mutual vigour (*d*) the match is made, and the children of the marriage have the conſtitution of their parents. The uncle by the mother's ſide regards his nephews with an affection nothing inferior to that of their father.

With

With ſome, the relation of the ſiſter's children to their maternal uncle (*e*) is held to be the ſtrongeſt tie of conſanguinity, inſomuch that in demanding hoſtages, that line of kindred is preferred, as the moſt endearing objects of the family, and, conſequently, the moſt tender pledges. The ſon (*f*) is always heir to his father. Laſt wills and teſtaments are not in uſe. In caſe of failure of iſſue, the brothers of the deceaſed are next in ſucceſſion, or elſe the paternal or maternal uncles. A numerous train of relations is the comfort and the honour of old age. To live without raiſing heirs to yourſelf (*g*) is no advantage in Germany.

XXI. To adopt the quarrels as well as the friendſhips of your parents and relations (*a*), is held to be an indiſpenſable duty. In their reſentments, however, they are not implacable. Injuries are adjuſted by a ſettled meaſure of compenſation. Atonement is made for (*b*) homicide by a certain number of cattle, and by that ſatisfaction the whole family is appeaſed: a happy regulation, than which nothing can be more conducive to the public intereſt, ſince it ſerves to curb that ſpirit of revenge which is the natural reſult of liberty in the exceſs. Hoſpitality (*c*) and convivial pleaſure are no where ſo liberally enjoyed. To refuſe admittance to a gueſt were an outrage againſt humanity. The maſter of the houſe welcomes every ſtranger, and regales him to the beſt of his ability. If his ſtock falls ſhort, he becomes a viſitor to his neighbour, and conducts his new acquaintance to a more plentiful table. They do not wait to be invited, nor is it of any conſequence, ſince a cordial reception is always certain. Between an intimate and an entire ſtranger no diſtinction is made. The law of hoſpitality is the ſame. The departing gueſt receives

ceives as a preſent whatever he deſires, and the hoſt retaliates by aſking with the ſame freedom. A German delights in the gifts which he receives; yet by beſtowing he imputes nothing to you as a favour, and for what he receives he acknowledges no obligation.

XXII. In this manner the Germans pride themſelves upon their frankneſs and generoſity. Their hours of reſt are protracted to broad day-light. As ſoon as they riſe, the firſt thing they do is to bathe, and generally, on account of the intenſe ſeverity of the climate, in warm water (*a*). They then betake themſelves to their meal, each on a ſeparate ſeat, and at his own table (*b*). Having finiſhed their repaſt, they proceed completely armed to the diſpatch of buſineſs, and frequently to a convivial meeting. To devote both day and night to deep drinking is a diſgrace to no man. Diſputes, as will be the caſe with people in liquor, frequently ariſe, and are ſeldom confined to opprobrious language. The quarrel generally ends in a ſcene of blood (*c*). Important ſubjects, ſuch as the reconciliation of enemies, the forming of family alliances, the election of chiefs, and even peace and war (*d*), are generally canvaſſed in their carouſing feſtivals. The convivial moment, according to their notion, is the true ſeaſon for buſineſs, when the mind opens itſelf in plain ſimplicity, or grows warm with bold and noble ideas. Strangers to artifice, and knowing no refinement, they tell their ſentiments without diſguiſe. The pleaſure of the table expands their hearts, and calls forth every ſecret. On the following day the ſubject of debate is again taken into conſideration, and thus two different periods of time have their diſtinct uſes: when warm, they debate; when cool, they decide.

XXIII.

XXIII. Their beverage is a liquor drawn from barley or from wheat, and, like the juice of the grape, fermented to a ſpirit (*a*). The ſettlers on the banks of the Rhine provide themſelves with wine. Their food is of the ſimpleſt kind; wild apples, the fleſh of an animal recently killed, or coagulated milk (*b*). Without ſkill in cookery, and without ſeaſoning to ſtimulate the palate (*c*), they eat to ſatisfy nature. But they do not drink merely to quench their thirſt. Indulge their love of liquor to the exceſs which they require (*d*), and you need not employ the terror of your arms: their own vices will ſubdue them.

XXIV. Their public ſpectacles boaſt of no variety. They have but one ſort, and that they repeat at all their meetings. A band of young men make it their paſtime to dance entirely naked amidſt pointed ſwords and javelins. By conſtant exerciſe this kind of exhibition is become an art, and art has taught them to perform with grace and elegance. Their talents, however, are not let out for hire (*a*). Though ſome danger attends the practice, the pleaſure of the ſpectator is their only recompenſe. In the character of a German there is nothing ſo remarkable as his paſſion for play. Without the excuſe of liquor (ſtrange as it may ſeem!) in their cool and ſober moments, they have recourſe to dice (*b*), as to a ſerious and regular buſineſs, with the moſt deſperate ſpirit committing their whole ſubſtance to chance, and when they have loſt their all, putting their liberty and even their perſons upon the laſt hazard of the dye. The loſer yields himſelf to ſlavery. Young, robuſt, and valiant, he ſubmits to be chained, and even expoſed to ſale. Such is the effect of a ruinous and inveterate habit. They are victims to folly, and they call themſelves men

men of honour. The winner is always in a hurry to barter away the ſlaves acquired by ſucceſs at play: he is aſhamed of his victory, and therefore puts away the remembrance of it as ſoon as poſſible.

XXV. The ſlaves in general are not arranged at their ſeveral employments in the houſehold affairs, as is the practice at Rome. Each has his ſeparate habitation, and his own eſtabliſhment to manage. The maſter conſiders him as an agrarian dependant (*a*), who is obliged to furniſh a certain quantity of grain, of cattle, or of wearing apparel. The ſlave obeys, and the ſtate of ſervitude extends no further. All domeſtic affairs are managed by the maſter's wife and children. To puniſh a ſlave with ſtripes, to load him with chains, or condemn him to hard labour, is unuſual. It is true, that ſlaves (*b*) are ſometimes put to death, not under colour of juſtice, or of any authority veſted in the maſter; but in a tranſport of paſſion, in a fit of rage, as is often the caſe in a ſudden affray: but it is alſo true, that this ſpecies of homicide paſſes with impunity. The freedmen (*c*) are not of much higher conſideration than the actual ſlaves; they obtain no rank in the maſter's family, and, if we except the parts of Germany where monarchy is eſtabliſhed (*d*), they never figure on the ſtage of public buſineſs. In deſpotic governments they riſe above the men of ingenuous birth, and even eclipſe the whole body of the nobles (*e*). In other ſtates the ſubordination of the freedmen is a proof of public liberty.

XXVI. The practice of placing money at intereſt, and reaping the profits of uſury (*a*), is unknown in Germany; and that happy ignorance is a better prevention of the evil than a code of prohibitory laws. In cultivating the ſoil, they do

do not ſettle on one ſpot, but ſhift from place to place (*b*). The ſtate or community takes poſſeſſion of a certain tract proportioned to its number of hands; allotments are afterwards made to individuals according to their rank and dignity. In ſo extenſive a country, where there is no want of land, the partition is eaſily made. The ground tilled in one year, lies fallow the next, and a ſufficient quantity always remains, the labour of the people being by no means adequate to the extent or goodneſs of the ſoil. Nor have they the ſkill to make orchard-plantations, to incloſe the meadow-grounds, or to lay out and water gardens. From the earth they demand nothing but corn. Hence their year is not, as with the Romans, divided into four ſeaſons. They have diſtinct ideas of winter, ſpring, and ſummer, and their language has terms for each; but they neither know the bleſſings nor the name of autumn (*c*).

XXVII. THEIR funerals (*a*) have neither pomp nor vain ambition. When the bodies of illuſtrious men are to be burned, they chooſe a particular kind of wood for the purpoſe, and have no other attention. The funeral pile is neither ſtrewed with garments, nor enriched with fragrant ſpices. The arms of the deceaſed are committed to the flames, and ſometimes his horſe (*b*). A mound of turf is raiſed to his memory, and this, in their opinion, is a better ſepulchre than thoſe ſtructures of laboured grandeur, which diſplay the weakneſs of human vanity, and are, at beſt, a burthen to the dead. Tears and lamentations are ſoon at an end, but their regret does not ſo eaſily wear away. To grieve for the departed is comely in the ſofter ſex. The women weep for their friends (*c*); the men remember them.

XXVIII. This is the ſum of what I have been able to collect touching the origin of the Germans, and the general manners of the people. I now ſhall enter into a more minute deſcription of the ſeveral ſtates, their peculiar rites, and the diſtinctive character of each; obſerving at the ſame time, which were the nations that firſt paſſed the Rhine, and tranſplanted themſelves into Gaul. That the Gauls, in ancient times, were ſuperior to the Germans (*a*) we have the authority of Julius Cæſar, that illuſtrious hiſtorian of his own affairs. From what is ſtated by that eminent writer, it is highly probable that colonies from Gaul paſſed over into Germany: for, in fact, how could a river check the migrations of either nation, when it increaſed in ſtrength, and multiplied its numbers? So weak an obſtacle could not repel them from taking poſſeſſion of a country, not as yet marked out by power, and of courſe open to the firſt occupant. We find, accordingly, that the whole region between the Hercynian foreſt (*b*), the Maine and the Rhine was occupied by the Helvetians, and the tract beyond it by the Boians (*c*); both originally Gallic nations. The name of Boiemum, which remains to this day, ſhews the ancient ſtate of the country, though it has ſince received a new race of inhabitants. Whether the Araviſcians (*d*), who ſettled in Pannonia, were originally a colony from the Oſi, a people of Germany; or, on the other hand, whether the Oſi overflowed into Germany from the Araviſcians, cannot now be aſcertained. Thus much is certain, the laws, the manners, and language of both nations are ſtill the ſame. But which of them firſt paſſed the Danube? The ſame good and evil were to be found on both ſides of the river; equal poverty and equal independance. To be thought of

German

German origin is the ambition of the Treverians (*e*) and the Nervians, both conceiving, that the reproach of Gallic ſoftneſs and effeminacy, which ſtill infect their national manners, may be loſt in the ſplendour of a warlike deſcent. The Vangiones (*f*), the Tribocians, and the Nemetes, who ſtretch along the banks of the Rhine, are, beyond all doubt, of German extraction. The Ubians (*g*), for their ſervices, were made a Roman colony, and, with their own conſent, became known by the name of AGRIPPINIANS, in honour of their founder; and yet they ſtill look back with pride to their German origin. They iſſued formerly from that country, and having given proof of their fidelity, obtained an allotment of territory on the banks of the Rhine, not ſo much with a view to their ſecurity, as to make them a guard to defend the Roman frontier.

XXIX. OF all theſe various nations the Batavians (*a*) are the moſt brave and warlike. Incorporated formerly with the Cattians, but driven out by inteſtine diviſions, they took poſſeſſion of an iſland, formed by the river Nile, where, without any extent of land on the continent, they eſtabliſhed a canton in alliance with the Romans. The honour of that ancient friendſhip they ſtill enjoy, with the addition of peculiar privileges. They are neither inſulted with taxes, nor haraſſed by revenue officers. Free from burthens, impoſts, and tributes, they are reſerved for the day of battle; a nurſery of ſoldiers. The Mattiaci (*b*) are in like manner attached to the intereſt of the Romans. In fact, the limits of the empire have been enlarged, and the terror of our arms has ſpread beyond the Rhine and the former boundaries. Hence the Mattiaci, ſtill enjoying their own ſide of the river, are Germans by their ſituation, yet in ſentiment

timent and principle the friends of Rome; submitting, like the Batavians, to the authority of the empire; but, never having been tranſplanted, they ſtill retain, from their ſoil and climate, all the fierceneſs of their native character. The people between the Rhine and the Danube, who occupy a certain tract, ſubject to an impoſt of one tenth, and therefore called the Decumate Lands (*c*), are not to be reckoned among the German nations. The Gauls, from their natural levity prone to change, and rendered deſperate by their poverty, were the firſt adventurers into that vacant region. The Roman frontier, in proceſs of time, being advanced, and garriſons ſtationed at proper poſts, that whole country became part of a province, and the inhabitants of courſe were reduced to ſubjection.

XXX. Beyond the Mattiaci lies the territory of the Cattians (*a*), beginning at the Hercynian foreſt, but not, like other parts of Germany, a wide and dreary level of fens and marſhes. A continued range of hills extends over a prodigious tract, till growing thinner by degrees they ſink at laſt into an open country. The Hercynian foreſt attends its favourite Cattians to their utmoſt boundary, and there leaves them, as it were, with regret. The people are robuſt and hardy; their limbs well braced (*b*); their countenance fierce, and their minds endowed with vigour beyond the reſt of their countrymen. Conſidered as Germans, their underſtanding is quick and penetrating. They elect officers fit to command, and obey them implicitly; they keep their ranks, and know how to ſeize their opportunity; they reſtrain their natural impetuoſity, and wait for the attack; they arrange with judgment the labours of the day, and throw up entrenchments for the night; truſting little to fortune, they depend

pend altogether on their valour; and, what is rare in the hiſtory of Barbarians, and never attained without regular diſcipline, they place their confidence, not in the ſtrength of their armies, but entirely in their general (*c*). The infantry is their main ſtrength. Each ſoldier carries, beſides his arms, his proviſion and a parcel of military tools. You may ſee other armies ruſhing to a battle: the Cattians march to a war. To ſkirmiſh in detached parties, or to ſally out on a ſudden emergence, is not their practice. A victory haſtily gained, or a quick retreat, may ſuit the genius of the cavalry; but all that rapidity, in the opinion of the Cattians, denotes want of reſolution; perſeverance is the true mark of courage.

XXXI. A CUSTOM, known, indeed, in other parts of Germany, but adopted only by a few individuals of a bold and ardent ſpirit, is with the Cattians a feature of the national character. From the age of manhood they encourage the growth of their hair and beard (*a*); nor will any one, till he has ſlain an enemy, diveſt himſelf of that excreſcence, which by a ſolemn vow he has devoted to heroic virtue. Over the blood and ſpoils of the vanquiſhed the face of the warrior is, for the firſt time, diſplayed. The Cattian then exults; he has now anſwered the true end of his being, and has proved himſelf worthy of his parents and his country. The ſluggard continues unſhorn, with the uncouth horrors of his viſage growing wilder to the cloſe of his days. The men of ſuperior courage and uncommon ferocity wear alſo an iron-ring (*b*), in that country a badge of infamy, and with that, as with a chain, they appear ſelf-condemned to ſlavery, till by the ſlaughter of an enemy they have redeemed

their freedom. With this extraordinary habit the Cattians are in general much delighted. They grow grey under a vow of heroiſm, and by their voluntary diſtinctions render themſelves conſpicuous to their friends and enemies. In every engagement the firſt attack is made by them: they claim the front of the line as their right, preſenting to the enemy an appearance wild and terrible. Even in time of peace they retain the ſame ferocious aſpect; never ſoftened with an air of humanity. They have no houſe to dwell in, no land to cultivate, no domeſtic care to employ them. Wherever chance conducts them, they are ſure of being maintained. Laviſh of their neighbours ſubſtance, and prodigal of their own, they perſiſt in this courſe, till towards the decline of life their drooping ſpirit is no longer equal to the exertions of a fierce and rigid virtue.

XXXII. The Uſipians and Tencterians (*a*) border on the Cattians. Their territory lies on the banks of the Rhine, where that river, ſtill flowing in one regular channel, forms a ſufficient boundary. In addition to their military character the Tencterians are famous for the diſcipline of their cavalry. Their horſe is no way inferior to the infantry of the Cattians. The wiſdom of their anceſtors formed the military ſyſtem, and their deſcendants hold it in veneration. Horſemanſhip is the pride of the whole country, the paſtime of their children, the emulation of their youth, and the habit of old age. With their goods and valuable effects their horſes paſs as part of the ſucceſſion, not, however, by the general rule of inheritance to the eldeſt ſon, but, in a peculiar line, to that ſon who ſtands diſtinguiſhed by his valour and his exploits in war.

XXXIII. In the neighbourhood of the laſt-mentioned ſtates formerly occurred the Bructerians

terians (*a*), ſince that time diſpoſſeſſed of their territory, and, as fame reports, now no longer a people. The Chamavians and Angrivarians (*b*), it is ſaid, with the conſent of the adjacent tribes, invaded the country, and purſued the ancient ſettlers with exterminating fury. The intolerable pride of the Bructerians drew upon them this dreadful cataſtrophe. The love of plunder was, no doubt, a powerful motive; and, perhaps, the event was providentially ordained in favour of the Roman people. Certain it is, the gods have of late indulged us with a view of a fierce engagement, and a ſcene of carnage, in which above ſixty thouſand of the enemy fell a ſacrifice, not to the arms of Rome, but, more magnificent ſtill! to the rage of their own internal diſcord, all cut off, as it were in a theatre of war, to furniſh a ſpectacle to the Roman army. May this continue to be the fate of foreign nations! If not the friends of Rome, let them be enemies to themſelves. For in the preſent tide of our affairs, what can fortune have in ſtore ſo devoutly to be wiſhed for as civil diſſention amongſt our enemies?

Morality Tacitus!

XXXIV. At the back of the ſtates, which I have now deſcribed, lies the Dulgibinians (*a*) and the Chaſuarians, with other nations of inferior note. In front occurs the country of the Friſians (*b*), divided into two communities, called, on account of their degrees of ſtrength, the Greater and the Leſſer Friſia. Both extend along the margin of the Rhine as far as the Ocean, incloſing within their limits lakes of vaſt extent (*c*), where the fleets of Rome have ſpread their ſails. Through that outlet we have attempted the Northern Ocean, where, if we may believe the account of navigators, the pillars of Hercules are ſeen ſtill ſtanding on the coaſt; whether it be, that Hercules did in fact viſit thoſe parts, or that

whatever is great and ſplendid in all quarters of the globe is, by common conſent, aſcribed to that ancient hero. Druſus Germanicus was an adventurer in thoſe ſeas (*a*). He did not want a ſpirit of enterpriſe; but the navigation was found impracticable in that tempeſtuous ocean, which ſeemed to forbid any further diſcovery of its own element, or the labours of Hercules. Since that time no expedition has been undertaken: men conceived that to reſpect the myſteries of the gods, and believe without enquiry, would be the beſt proof of veneration (*e*).

XXXV. We have hitherto traced the weſtern ſide of Germany. From the point, where we ſtopt, it ſtretches away with a prodigious ſweep towards the north. In this vaſt region the firſt territory that occurs is that of the Chaucians (*a*), beginning on the confines of the Friſians, and, though at the extremity bounded by the ſea-ſhore, yet running at the back of all the nations already deſcribed, till with an immenſe compaſs, it reaches the borders of the Cattians. Of this immeaſureable tract it is not ſufficient to ſay that the Chaucians poſſeſs it: they even people it. Of all the German nations they are, beyond all queſtion, the moſt reſpectable. Their grandeur reſts upon the ſureſt foundation, the love of juſtice; wanting no extenſion of territory, free from avarice and ambition, remote and happy, they provoke no wars, and never ſeek to enrich themſelves by rapine and depredation. Their importance among the nations round them is undoubtedly great; but the beſt evidence of it is, that they have gained nothing by injuſtice. Loving moderation, yet uniting to it a warlike ſpirit, they are ever ready in a juſt cauſe to unſheathe the ſword. Their armies are ſoon in the field (*b*). In men and horſes their reſources are great, and even in profound tranquillity their fame is never tarniſhed.

XXXVI.

XXXVI. Bordering on the ſide of the Chaucians, and alſo of the Cattians, lies the country of the Cheruſcans (*a*); a people by a long diſuſe of arms enervated and ſunk in ſloth. Unmoleſted by their neighbours, they enjoyed the ſweets of peace, forgetting that amidſt powerful and ambitious neighbours the repoſe, which you enjoy, ſerves only to lull you into a calm, always pleaſing, but deceitful in the end. When the ſword is drawn, and the power of the ſtrongeſt is to decide, you talk in vain of equity and moderation: thoſe virtues always belong to the conqueror. Thus it has happened to the Cheruſcans: they were formerly juſt and upright; at preſent they are called fools and cowards. Victory has transferred every virtue to the Cattians, and oppreſſion takes the name of wiſdom. The downfal of the Cheruſcans drew after it that of the Foſi (*b*), a contiguous nation, in their day of proſperity never equal to their neighbours, but fellow-ſufferers in their ruin.

XXXVII. In the ſame northern part of Germany we find the Cimbrians (*a*) on the margin of the ocean; a people at preſent of ſmall conſideration, though their glory can never die. Monuments of their former ſtrength and importance are ſtill to be ſeen on either ſhore. Their camps and lines of circumvallation are not yet eraſed. From the extent of ground which they occupied you may even now form an eſtimate of the force and reſources of the ſtate, and the account of their grand army, which conſiſted of ſuch prodigious numbers, ſeems to be verified. It was in the year of Rome ſix hundred and forty, in the conſulſhip of Cæcilius Metellus and Papirius Carbo, that the arms of the Cimbrians firſt alarmed the world. If from that period we reckon to the ſecond conſulſhip of the emperor Trajan, we ſhall find a ſpace of near two hundred

and ten years: ſo long has Germany ſtood at bay with Rome! In the courſe of ſo obſtinate a ſtruggle, both ſides have felt alternately the ſevereſt blows of fortune, and the worſt calamities of war. Not the Samnite, nor the republic of Carthage, nor Spain, nor Gaul, nor even the Parthian has given ſuch frequent leſſons to the Roman people. The power of the Arſacidæ (*b*) was not ſo formidable as German liberty. If we except the ſlaughter of Craſſus and his army, what has the eaſt to boaſt of? Their own commander, Pacorus, was cut off, and the whole nation was humbled by the victory of Ventidius. The Germans can recount their triumphs over Carbo, Caſſius (*c*), Scaurus Aurelius, Servilius Cæpio, and Cneius Manlius (*d*), all defeated, or taken priſoners. With them the republic loſt five conſular armies; and ſince that time, in the reign of Auguſtus, Varus periſhed with his three legions. Caius Marius (*e*), it is true, defeated the Germans in Italy; Julius Cæſar made them retreat from Gaul; and Druſcus, Tiberius and Germanicus overpowered them in their own country: but how much blood did thoſe victories coſt us? The mighty projects of Caligula ended in a ridiculous farce. From that period an interval of peace ſucceeded, till rouſed at length by the diſſentions of Rome, and the civil wars that followed, they ſtormed our legions in their winter-quarters (*f*), and even planned the conqueſt of Gaul. Indeed we forced them to repaſs the Rhine; but from that time what has been our advantage? We have triumphed, and Germany is ſtill unconquered.

XXXVIII. The Suevians (*a*) are the next that claim attention. Poſſeſſing the largeſt portion of Germany, they do not, like the Cattians and Tencterians, form one ſtate or community, but have among themſelves ſeveral ſubdiviſions, or inferior

inferior tribes, known by diſtinct appellations, yet all comprehended under the general name of Suevians. It is the peculiar cuſtom of this people to braid the hair, and tie it up in a knot (*b*). Between them and the reſt of the Germans this is the mark of diſtinction. In their own country it ſerves to diſcriminate the free-born from the ſlave. If the ſame mode is ſeen in other ſtates, introduced by ties of conſanguinity, or, as often happens, by the propenſity of men to imitate foreign manners, the inſtances are rare, and confined entirely to the ſeaſon of youth. With the Suevians the cuſtom is continued through life: men far advanced in years are ſeen with their hoary locks interwoven, and faſtened behind, or ſometimes gathered into a ſhaggy knot on the crown of the head. The chiefs are more nicely adjuſted: they attend to ornament, but it is a manly attention, not the ſpirit of intrigue or the affectation of appearing amiable in the eyes of women. When going to engage the enemy, they fancy that from the high ſtructure of their hair they appear taller and gain an air of ferocity. Their dreſs is a preparation for battle.

XXXIX. The Semnones (*a*) are ambitious to be thought the moſt ancient and reſpectable of the Suevian nation. Their claim they think confirmed by the myſteries of religion. On a ſtated day a proceſſion is made into a wood conſecrated in ancient times, and rendered awful by auguries delivered down from age to age. The ſeveral tribes of the ſame deſcent appear by their deputies. The rites begin with the ſlaughter of a man, who is offered as a victim, and thus their barbarous worſhip is celebrated by an act of horror. The grove is beheld with ſuperſtitious terror. No man enters that holy ſanctuary without being bound with a chain, thereby denoting

denoting his humble ſenſe of his own condition, and the ſuperior attributes of the deity that fills the place. Should he happen to fall, he does not preſume to riſe, but in that groveling ſtate makes his way out of the wood. The doctrine intended by this bigotry is, that from this ſpot the whole nation derives its origin, and that here is the ſacred manſion of the all-ruling mind, the ſupreme God of the univerſe (*b*), who holds every thing elſe in a chain of dependance on his will and pleaſure. To theſe tenets much credit ariſes from the weight and influence of the Semnones, a populous nation, diſtributed into a hundred cantons, and by the vaſt extent of their territory entitled to conſider themſelves as the head of the Suevian nation.

XL. The Langobards (*a*) exhibit a contraſt to the people laſt deſcribed. Their dignity is derived from the paucity of their numbers. Surrounded as they are by great and powerful nations, they live independant, owing their ſecurity not to mean compliances, but to that warlike ſpirit with which they encounter danger. To theſe ſucceed in regular order the Reudignians (*b*), the Aviones, Angles, and Varinians; the Eudoſians, Nuithones, and Suardonians, all defended by rivers, or emboſomed in foreſts. In theſe ſeveral tribes there is nothing that merits attention, except that they all agree to worſhip the goddeſs Earth, or as they call her Herth (*c*), whom they conſider as the common mother of all. This divinity, according to their notion, interpoſes in human affairs, and, at times, viſits the ſeveral nations of the globe. A ſacred grove on an iſland (*d*) in the Northern Ocean is dedicated to her. There ſtands her ſacred chariot, covered with a veſtment, to be touched by the prieſt only. When ſhe takes her ſeat in this holy

holy vehicle, he becomes immediately conſcious of her preſence, and in his fit of enthuſiaſm purſues her progreſs. The chariot is drawn by cows yoked together. A general feſtival takes place, and public rejoicings are heard, wherever the goddeſs directs her way. No war is thought of; arms are laid aſide, and the ſword is ſheathed. The ſweets of peace are known, and then only reliſhed. At length the ſame prieſt declares the goddeſs ſatisfied with her viſitation, and reconducts her to her ſanctuary. The chariot with the ſacred mantle, and, if we may believe report, the goddeſs herſelf, are purified in a ſecret lake. In this ablution certain ſlaves officiate, and inſtantly periſh in the water. Hence the terrors of ſuperſtition are more widely diffuſed; a religious horror ſeizes every mind, and all are content in pious ignorance to venerate that awful myſtery, which no man can ſee, and live. This part of the Suevian nation ſtretches away to the moſt remote and unknown receſſes of Germany.

XLI. On the banks of the Danube (for we ſhall now purſue that river, in the ſame manner as we have traced the courſe of the Rhine), the firſt and neareſt ſtate is that of the Hermundurians (*a*), a people in alliance with Rome, acting always with fidelity, and for that reaſon allowed to trade not only on the frontier, but even within the limits of the empire. They are ſeen at large in the heart of our ſplendid colony in the province of Rhætia, without ſo much as a guard to watch their motions. To the reſt of the Germans we diſplay camps and legions, but to the Hermundurians we grant the excluſive privilege of ſeeing our houſes and our elegant villas. They behold the ſplendour of the Romans, but without avarice, or a wiſh to enjoy it. In the territories

territories of these people the Elb takes its rise (*b*), a celebrated river, and formerly well known to the Romans. At present we only hear of its name.

XLII. Contiguous to the last mentioned people lies the country of the Narisians (*a*), and next in order the Marcomannians (*b*) and the Quadians. Of these the Marcomannians are the most eminent for their strength and military glory. The very territory now in their possession is the reward of valour, acquired by the expulsion of the Boians. Nor have the Narisians or Quadians degenerated from their ancestors. As far as Germany is washed by the Danube, these three nations extend along the banks, and form the frontier of the country. The Marcomannians, and the Quadians, within our own memory, obeyed a race of kings, born among themselves, the illustrious issue of Maroboduus (*c*) and of Tudrus. Foreign princes at present sway the sceptre; but the strength of their monarchy (*d*) depends upon the countenance and protection of Rome. To our arms they are not often indebted: we choose rather to supply them with money.

XLIII. At the back of the Marcomannians and Quadians lie several nations of considerable force, such as the Marsignians (*a*), the Gothinians, the Osians, and the Burians. In dress and language the two last resemble the Suevians. The Gothinians, by their use of the Gallic tongue, and the Osians by the dialect of Pannonia, are evidently not of German original. A further proof arises from their submitting to the disgrace of paying tribute, imposed upon them as aliens and intruders, partly by the Sarmatians, and partly by the Quadians. The Gothinians have still more reason to blush; they submit (*b*) to the drudgery of digging iron in the mines. But a small

ſmall part of the open and level country is occupied by theſe ſeveral nations: they dwell chiefly in foreſts, or on the ſummit of that continued ridge of mountains (*c*), by which Suevia is divided and ſeparated from other tribes that lie ſtill more remote. Of theſe the Lygians (*d*) are the moſt powerful, ſtretching to a great extent, and giving their name to a number of ſubordinate communities. It will ſuffice to mention the moſt conſiderable; namely the (*e*) Arians, the Helvecones, the Manimians, the Elyſians, and Naharvalians. The laſt ſhew a grove famous for the antiquity of its religious rites. The prieſt appears in a female dreſs. The gods whom they worſhip are, in the language of the country, known by the name of Alcis, by Roman interpreters ſaid to be Caſtor and Pollux (*f*). There are, indeed, no idols in their country; no ſymbolic repreſentation; no traces of foreign ſuperſtition. And yet their two deities are adored in the character of young men and brothers. The Arians are not only ſuperior to the other tribes above-mentioned, but are alſo more fierce and ſavage. Not content with their natural ferocity, they ſtudy to make themſelves ſtill more grim and horrible by every addition that art can deviſe. Their ſhields are black; their bodies painted of a deep colour (*g*); and the darkeſt night is their time for ruſhing to battle. The ſudden ſurpriſe and funereal gloom of ſuch a band of ſable warriors are ſure to ſtrike a panic through the adverſe army, who fly the field, as if a legion of demons had broke looſe to attack them: ſo true it is that in every engagement the eye is firſt conquered. Beyond the Lygians the next ſtate is that of the Gothones (*h*), who live under regal government, and are, by conſequence, ruled with a degree of power more rigorous than other

other parts of Germany, yet not unlimited, nor entirely hoſtile to civil liberty. In the neighbourhood of theſe people we find, on the ſea-coaſt, the Rugians and Lemovians (*i*), both ſubject to royal authority. When their round ſhields and ſhort ſwords are mentioned, there are no other particulars worthy of notice.

XLIV. The people that next occur are the Suiones (*a*), who may be ſaid to inhabit the ocean itſelf. In addition to the ſtrength of their armies, they have a powerful naval force (*b*). The form of their ſhips is peculiar. Every veſſel has a prow at each end, and by that contrivance is always ready to make head either way. Sails are not in uſe, nor is there a range of oars at the ſides. The mariners, as often happens in the navigation of rivers, take different ſtations, and ſhift from one place to another, as the exigence may require. Riches are by this people held in great eſteem (*c*); and the public mind, debaſed by that paſſion, yields to the government of one, with unconditional, with paſſive obedience. Deſpotiſm is here fully eſtabliſhed. The people are not allowed to carry arms in common, like the reſt of the German nations. An officer is appointed to keep in a magazine all the military weapons, and for this purpoſe a ſlave is always choſen. For this policy the oſtenſible reaſon is, that the ocean is their natural fence againſt foreign invaſions, and in time of peace the giddy multitude, with arms ready at hand, ſoon proceeds from luxury to tumult and commotion. But the truth is, the jealouſy of a deſpotic prince does not think it ſafe to commit the care of his arſenal to the nobles, or the men of ingenuous birth. Even a manumitted ſlave is not fit to be truſted.

XLV.

XLV. At the further extremity beyond the Suiones there is another ſea (*a*), whoſe ſluggiſh waters ſeem to be in a ſtate of ſtagnation. By this lazy element the globe is ſaid to be encircled, and the ſuppoſition receives ſome colour of probability from an extraordinary phænomenon well known in thoſe regions. The rays of the ſetting ſun (*b*) continue, till the return of day, to brighten the hemiſphere with ſo clear a light, that the ſtars are imperceptible. To this it is added by vulgar credulity, that when the ſun begins to riſe, the ſound of the emerging luminary is diſtinctly heard, and the very form of the horſes, with the blaze of glory round the head of the god, is palpable to the ſight. The boundaries of nature, it is generally believed, terminate here (*c*).

On the coaſt to the right of the Suevian ocean (*d*) the Æſtyans have fixed their habitation. In their dreſs and manners they reſemble the Suevians, but their language has more affinity to the dialect of Britain. They worſhip the mother of the gods (*e*). The figure of a wild boar is the ſymbol of their ſuperſtition; and he, who has that emblem about him, thinks himſelf ſecure even in the thickeſt ranks of the enemy, without any need of arms, or any other mode of defence. The uſe of iron is unknown, and their general weapon is a club. In the cultivation of corn, and other fruits of the earth, they labour with more patience than is conſiſtent with the natural lazineſs of the Germans. Their induſtry is exerted in another inſtance: they explore the ſea for amber, in their language called GLESE (*f*), and are the only people who gather that curious ſubſtance. It is generally found among the ſhallows; ſometimes on the ſhore. Concerning the nature or the cauſes of this concretion, the barbarians, with their uſual want of curioſity, make

no

no enquiry. Amongſt other ſuperfluities diſcharged by the ſea, this ſubſtance lay long neglected, till Roman luxury gave it a name, and brought it into requeſt. To the ſavages it is of no uſe. They gather it in rude heaps, and offer it to ſale without any form or poliſh, wondering at the price they receive for it. There is reaſon to think that amber is a diſtillation from certain trees (*g*), ſince in the tranſparent medium we ſee a variety of inſects, and even animals of the wing, which, being caught in the viſcous fluid, are afterwards, when it grows hard, incorporated with it. It is probable, therefore, that as the eaſt has its luxuriant plantations, where balm and frankincenſe perſpire through the pores of trees, ſo the continents and iſlands of the weſt have their prolific groves, whoſe juices, fermented by the heat of the ſun, diſſolve into a liquid matter, which falls into the ſea, and, being there condenſed, is afterwards diſcharged by the winds and waves on the oppoſite ſhore. If you make an experiment of amber by the application of fire, it kindles like a torch, emitting a fragrant flame, and, in a little time, taking the tenacious nature of pitch or roſin. Beyond the Suiones we next find the nation of Sitones (*h*), differing in nothing from the former, except the tameneſs, with which they ſuffer a woman to reign over them. Of this people it is not enough to ſay that they have degenerated from civil liberty: they are ſunk below ſlavery itſelf. At this place ends the territory of the Suevians.

XLVI. WHETHER the Peucinians (*a*), the Venedians and Fennians are to be accounted Germans, or claſſed with the people of Sarmatia (*b*), is a point not eaſy to be determined; though the Peucinians, called by ſome the Baſtarnians, bear a ſtrong reſemblance to the Germans. They uſe

the

the ſame language: their dreſs and habitations are the ſame, and they are equally inured to ſloth and filth. Of late, however, in conſequence of frequent intermarriages between their leading chieſtains and the families of Sarmatia, they have been tainted with the manners of that country. The Venedians are a counterpart of the Sarmatians: like them they lead a wandering life, and ſupport themſelves by plunder amidſt the woods and mountains, that ſeparate the Peucinians and the Fennians. They are, notwithſtanding, to be aſcribed to Germany, inaſmuch as they have ſettled habitations, know the uſe of ſhields, and travel always on foot, remarkable for their ſwiftneſs. The Sarmatians, on the contrary, live altogether on horſeback or in waggons. Nothing can equal the ferocity of the Fennians (*c*), nor is there any thing ſo diſguſting as their filth and poverty. Without arms, without horſes, and without a fixed place of abode, they lead a vagrant life; their food the common herbage; the ſkins of beaſts their only clothing; and the bare earth their reſting-place. For their chief ſupport they depend on their arrows, to which, for want of iron, they prefix a pointed bone. The women follow the chaſe in company with the men, and claim their ſhare of the prey. To protect their infants from the fury of wild beaſts, and the inclemency of the weather, they make a kind of cradle amidſt the branches of trees interwoven together, and they know no other expedient. The youth of the country have the ſame habitation, and amidſt the trees old age is rocked to reſt. Savage as this way of life may ſeem, they prefer it to the drudgery of the field, the labour of building, and the painful viciſſitudes of hope and fear, which always attend the defence and the acquiſition of property. Secure againſt the paſſions

paſſions of men, and fearing nothing from the anger of the gods, they have attained that uncommon ſtate of felicity, in which there is no craving left to form a ſingle wiſh (*d*).

The reſt of what I have been able to collect is too much involved in fable, of a colour with the accounts of the Helluſians and the Oxionians, of whom we are told, that they have the human face, with the limbs and bodies of wild beaſts. But reports of this kind, unſupported by proof, I ſhall leave to the pen of others.

THE END.

THE

LIFE

OF

CNÆUS JULIUS AGRICOLA.

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The life of Agricola was written,

Year of Rome.	of Chriſt.	Conſuls.
850	97	*Nerva, emperor 3d time.*
850	97	*Verginius Rufus.*

THE

LIFE

OF

CNÆUS JULIUS AGRICOLA.

I. TO tranſmit, to poſterity the lives and characters of illuſtrious men, was an office frequently performed in ancient times. Even in the preſent age, incurious as it is about its own concerns (*a*), the ſame good cuſtom has prevailed, whenever a great and ſplendid virtue has been able to ſurmount thoſe two pernicious vices (*b*), which not only infeſt ſmall communities, but are likewiſe the bane of large and flouriſhing cities; I mean the vices of inſenſibility to merit, on the one hand, and envy on the other. With regard to the uſage of antiquity, it is further obſervable, that, in thoſe early ſeaſons of virtue, men were led by the impulſe of a generous ſpirit to a courſe of action worthy of being recorded; and, in like manner, the writer of genius undertook to perpetuate the memory of honourable deeds, without any motives of flattery, and without views of private ambition, influenced

influenced only by the conſcious pleaſure of doing juſtice to departed merit. Many have been their own hiſtorians (*c*), perſuaded that in ſpeaking of themſelves they ſhould diſplay an honeſt confidence in their morals, not a ſpirit of arrogance or vain glory. Rutilius (*d*) and Scaurus left an account of their own lives, and the integrity of the narrative has never been called in queſtion; ſo true it is, that the age, which is moſt fertile in bright examples, is the beſt qualified to make a fair eſtimate of them. For the preſent undertaking, which profeſſes to review the life of a great man now no more, I judged it neceſſary to premiſe an apology, led as I am, by the nature of my ſubject, to encounter an evil period (*e*), in which every virtue ſtruggled with adverſity and oppreſſion.

II. We have it upon record, that Arulenus Ruſticus (*a*), for the panegyric of Pætus Thraſea, and Herennius Senecio (*b*), for that of Helvidius Priſcus, were both capitally convicted. Nor was it enough that thoſe excellent authors fell a ſacrifice to the tyrant's power: perſecution raged againſt their books, and, by an order to the triumvirs, in the forum and the place of popular convention the monuments of genius periſhed in the flames. The policy of the times, no doubt, intended that in the ſame fire the voice of the Roman people ſhould be ſtifled, the freedom of the ſenate deſtroyed, and the ſentiments of the human heart (*c*) ſuppreſſed for ever. To complete the work, all ſound philoſophy was proſcribed, every liberal art was driven into baniſhment, and nothing fair and honourable was ſuffered to remain. Of our paſſive temper we gave ample proof; and as former times had taſted of liberty even to a degree of licentiouſneſs, ſo we exhauſted

hauſted the bitter cup of ſlavery to the very dregs. Reſtrained by the terrors of a mercileſs inquiſition from the commerce of hearing and ſpeaking, and, by conſequence, deprived of all exchange of ſentiment, we ſhould have reſigned our memory with our other faculties, if to forget had been as eaſy as to ſubmit in ſilence (*d*).

III. At length, indeed, we begin to revive from our lethargy; but we revive by ſlow degrees, though the emperor Nerva (*a*), in the beginning of this glorious æra, found means to reconcile two things, till then deemed incompatible; namely, civil liberty and the prerogative of the prince; though his ſucceſſor Trajan continues to heal our wounds, and by a juſt and wiſe adminiſtration to diffuſe the bleſſings of peace and good order through every part of the empire; and though it is apparent, that hopes of the conſtitution are now conceived by all orders of men, and not only conceived, but riſing every hour into confidence and public ſecurity (*b*). And yet, ſuch is the infirmity of the human mind, that, even in this juncture, the remedy operates more ſlowly than the diſeaſe. For as the body natural is tardy in its growth, and rapid in decay, ſo the powers of genius are more eaſily extinguiſhed than promoted to their full maturity. There is a charm in indolence that works by imperceptible degrees; and that liſtleſs inactivity, which at firſt is irkſome, grows delightful in the end.

Need I mention that in the courſe of fifteen years (*c*), a large portion of human life! many fell by unavoidable accidents, and the moſt illuſtrious men in Rome were cut off by the inſatiate cruelty of the prince? A few of us, it is true, have ſurvived the ſlaughter of our fellow citizens; I had almoſt ſaid, we have ſurvived ourſelves;

ſelves; for in that chaſm, which ſlavery made in our exiſtence, we cannot be ſaid to have lived, but rather to have crawled in ſilence, the young towards the decrepitude of age, and the old to diſhonourable graves. And yet I ſhall not regret the time I have ſpent in reviewing thoſe days of deſpotiſm; on the contrary, it is my intention, even in ſuch weak colouring as mine, to give a memorial of our ſlavery (*d*), that it may ſtand in contraſt to the felicity of the preſent period.

In the mean time, the following tract is dedicated to the memory of Agricola, my father-in-law. The deſign, as it ſprings from filial piety, may merit a degree of approbation; it will, at leaſt, be received with candour.

IV. Cnæus Julius Agricola was born at the ancient and reſpectable colony of Forojulium (*a*). His grandfather, by the maternal as well as the paternal line, ſerved the office of imperial procurator (*b*); a truſt of importance, which always confers the equeſtrian dignity. His father, Julius Græcinus (*c*), was a member of the ſenate, diſtinguiſhed by his eloquence and philoſophy. His merit gave umbrage to Caligula. Being commanded by that emperor to undertake the proſecution of Marcus Silanus (*d*), he refuſed to comply, and was put to death. Julia Procilla (*e*), Agricola's mother, was reſpected for the purity of her manners. Under her care, and as it were in her boſom, the tender mind of the ſon was trained to ſcience and every liberal accompliſhment. His own ingenuous diſpoſition guarded him againſt the ſeductions of pleaſure. To that happy temperament was added the advantage of purſuing his ſtudies at Marſeilles (*f*), that ſeat of learning, where the refinements of Greece were happily blended with the ſober manners of provincial œconomy.

He

He has often declared in my hearing, that in the firſt career of youth he felt himſelf addicted to philoſophical ſpeculations with more ardour than conſiſted with the duties of a Roman and a ſenator (*g*); but his taſte was ſoon reformed by the admonitions of his mother. In fact, it cannot be matter of wonder, that a ſublime and warm imagination, ſtruck with the forms of moral beauty and the love of ſcience, ſhould aſpire to reach the glory of the philoſophic character. As he grew up to manhood, his riper judgment weaned him from vain purſuits, and during the reſt of his life he preſerved, what is difficult to attain, that temperate judgment, which knows where to fix the bounds even of wiſdom itſelf.

V. His firſt rudiments of military knowledge were acquired in Britain (*a*), under the conduct of Suetonius Paulinus, that experienced officer; active, vigilant, yet mild in command. Agricola was ſoon diſtinguiſhed by his General, and ſelected to live with him at head-quarters (*b*). Honoured in this manner, he did not, as is uſual with young men, mix riot and diſſipation with actual ſervice; nor did he avail himſelf of his rank of military tribune to obtain leave of abſence (*c*), in order to paſs his time in idle pleaſures and ignorance of his duty. To know the province, and make himſelf known to the army; to learn from men of experience, and emulate the beſt examples; to ſeek no enterpriſe with a forward ſpirit, and to decline none with timid caution, were the rules he laid down to himſelf; prudent with valour, and brave without oſtentation.

A more active campaign had never been known, nor was Britain at any time ſo fiercely diſputed (*d*). Our veteran forces were put to the ſword; our

colonies ſmoked on the ground; and the legions were intercepted on their march. The ſtruggle was then for life; we fought afterwards for fame and victory. In a juncture ſo big with danger, though the conduct of the war was in other hands, and the glory of recovering the province was juſtly aſcribed to the commander in chief, yet ſo fair an opportunity did not fail to improve a young officer, and plant in his mind the early ſeeds of military ambition. The love of fame took poſſeſſion of him, that principle of noble minds, but out of ſeaſon in an evil period, when virtue ſuffered by ſiniſter conſtructions, and from an illuſtrious name the danger was as great as from the moſt pernicious character.

VI. He returned from Britain to enter on the gradations of the civil magiſtracy, and married Domitia Decidiana, a lady of high rank and ſplendid deſcent. By that alliance he gained an acceſſion of ſtrength and credit, that ſerved to forward him in the road to public honours. The conjugal ſtate proved a ſource of domeſtic happineſs. They lived in perfect harmony, endeared by the tendereſt affection, and each aſcribing to the other the felicity which they enjoyed. But the merit of Decidiana could not be too much acknowledged. The praiſe of a valuable wife ſhould always riſe in proportion to the weight of cenſure, that falls on ſuch as violate the nuptial union.

Agricola obtained the office of queſtor (*a*); and the province of Aſia, of which Salvius Titianus (*b*) was proconſul, fell to his lot. Neither the place nor the governor could warp his integrity. The wealth of the inhabitants invited the hand of rapacity; and Titianus, by the bias of his nature prone to acts of avarice, was ready, on terms of mutual connivance, to co-operate in any

any ſcheme of guilt and plunder: but Agricola maintained his honour and his principles. During his ſtay in Aſia his family was increaſed by the birth of a daughter, who proved ſoon after, when he loſt his infant ſon, a ſource of conſolation. The intermediate ſpace between the expiration of his quæſtorſhip and his advancement to the poſt of tribune of the people he had the prudence to paſs in calm tranquillity. Even during the year of his tribuneſhip (*c*) he acted with the ſame reſerve, aware of thoſe diſaſtrous times, when, under the tyranny of Nero's reign, the want of exertion was the trueſt wiſdom. He diſcharged the office of prætor with the ſame moderation and ſilent dignity, having no occaſion, as his good fortune would have it, to ſit in judicature (*d*). That branch of the magiſtrates buſineſs did not fall to his ſhare. The pageantry of public ſpectacles, which belonged to his department, he conducted with economy and magnificence, ſhort of profuſion, yet with due regard to popularity. In the following reign, being appointed by Galba one of the commiſſioners to inſpect the ſtate of oblations to the ſeveral temples (*e*), he managed the enquiry with ſo much ſkill and well-tempered judgment, that no ſpecies of ſacrilegious rapine, except the plunder committed by Nero, was ſuffered to paſs without redreſs.

VII. In the courſe of (*a*) the following year a dreadful misfortune happened in his family, and proved to him a ſevere ſtroke of affliction. A deſcent, from Otho's fleet, which roved about in queſt of depredations, was made on the coaſt of Liguria. The freebooters plundered the city of Intemelium (*b*), and in their fury murdered Agricola's mother, then reſiding upon her own eſtate. They laid waſte her lands, and went off with a conſiderable

conſiderable booty. Agricola ſet out immediately to pay the laſt tribute of filial piety, and being informed, on his way, that Veſpaſian aſpired to the imperial dignity, he declared at once in favour of that party.

In the beginning of the new reign (*c*), the government of Rome, and the whole adminiſtration centered in Mucianus, Domitian being, at that time, too young for buſineſs, and from the elevation of his father claiming no other privilege than that of being debauched and profligate without controul. Agricola was diſpatched to raiſe new levies. He executed that commiſſion with ſo much zeal and credit to himſelf, that Mucianus advanced him to the command of the twentieth legion (*d*), then quartered in Britain, and for ſome time unwilling to ſwear fidelity to Veſpaſian. The officer, who had the command of that corps, was ſuſpected of ſeditious practices, and the men had carried their inſolence to ſuch a pitch, that they were even formidable to the conſular generals. Their commander was of prætorian rank; but either on account of his own diſaffection, or the turbulent ſpirit of the ſoldiers, his authority was too feeble. Agricola ſucceeded to the command of the legion, and to the taſk of puniſhing the guilty. He acquitted himſelf with conſummate addreſs, and ſingular moderation, wiſhing that the men ſhould have the merit of voluntary compliance, and not ſeem to have yielded, with ſullen ſubmiſſion, to the authority of their general.

VIII. The government of Britain was at that time committed to Vettius Bolanus (*a*), a man of a milder diſpoſition than conſiſted with the genius of thoſe ferocious iſlanders. Agricola, that he might not ſeem to eclipſe his ſuperior officer, reſtrained his martial ardour, ſubmitting with deference

ference to his commander in chief, and, in every part of his conduct, uniting to his love of glory a due regard for the ſervice. Bolanus was ſoon recalled, and Petilius Cerealis (*b*), an officer of conſular rank, ſucceeded to the command. The field of warlike enterpriſe was laid open to Agricola. Under the new commander he was, at firſt, no more than a common ſharer in the dangers of the campaign; but in a ſhort time his talents had their free career. The general, to make his experiment, ſent him at the head of detached parties, and afterwards, encouraged by the event, employed him in more important operations. Agricola never betrayed a ſymptom of vain glory. From the iſſue of his expeditions, however ſucceſsful, he aſſumed no merit. It was the general that planned the meaſure, and he himſelf was no more than the hand that executed. By this conduct, vigorous in action, but modeſt in the report of his exploits, he gained a brilliant reputation, ſecure from the envy that attends it.

IX. On his return to Rome, Veſpaſian advanced him to the patrician rank (*a*), and ſoon after to the government of the province of Aquitania (*b*); an appointment of the firſt importance, leading directly to the honours of the conſulſhip, to which he then aſpired with the concurrence of the prince. The military mind, trained up in the ſchool of war, is generally ſuppoſed to want the power of nice diſcrimination. The juriſdiction of the camp is little ſolicitous about forms and ſubtle reaſoning: military law is blunt and ſummary, and, where the ſword reſolves all difficulties, the refined diſcuſſions of the forum are never practiſed. Agricola, however, indebted to nature for a certain rectitude of underſtanding, was not out of his ſphere (*c*) even among men verſed in queſtions of juriſprudence. His hours

hours of buſineſs and relaxation had their ſtated periods. In the council of the province, or on the tribunal of juſtice, he diſcharged the duties of his ſtation with awful gravity, intent to enquire, often ſevere, but more inclined to ſoften the rigour of the law. The functions of the magiſtrate being diſpatched, he diveſted himſelf of his public character; the man in authority was no longer ſeen. In his actions no tincture of arrogance, no ſpleen, no avarice was ever ſeen. Uncommon as it may appear, the ſweetneſs of his manners took nothing from his authority, nor was the impreſſion made by his amiable qualities leſſened by the inflexibility of the judge.

To ſay of a character truly great, that integrity and a ſpirit above corruption made a part of it, were mere tautology, as injurious to his virtues, as it is unneceſſary. Even the love of fame, that fine incentive of generous minds, could neither betray him into an oſtentatious diſplay of virtue, nor induce him to practiſe thoſe ſpecious arts, that court applauſe, and often ſupply the place of merit. The little ambition of riſing above his colleagues was foreign to his heart. He avoided all contention with the procurators of the prince. In ſtruggles of that nature he knew that victory may be obtained without glory, and a defeat is certain diſgrace. In leſs than three years he was recalled from his province, to take upon him the conſular dignity. The voice of fame marked him out, at the ſame time, for the government of Britain: the report was current, but neither contrived, nor circulated by himſelf. He was mentioned, becauſe he was worthy. Common fame does not always err: it often takes the lead, and determines the choice. During his conſulſhip (*d*), though I was then very young, he agreed to a marriage between

tween me and his daughter, who certainly might have looked for a prouder connection. The nuptial ceremony was not performed till the term of his conſulſhip expired. In a ſhort time after he was appointed governor of Britain, with the additional honour of a ſeat in the pontifical college.

X. If I here preſume to offer a deſcription of Britain (*a*) and the manners of the people, it is not my intention to diſpute with a number of authors, who have gone before me, either the fame of genius, or diligence in the reſearch. The fact is, Britain was ſubdued under the conduct of Agricola, and that circumſtance may juſtify the preſent attempt. Antecedent writers adorned conjecture with all the graces of language: what I have to offer will have nothing but the plain truth to recommend it.

Britain, of all the iſlands known to the Romans, is the largeſt. On the eaſt, it extends towards Germany; on the weſt, towards Spain (*b*); and on the ſouth, it lies oppoſite to the coaſt of Gaul. The northern extremity is laſhed by the billows of a prodigious ſea, and no land is known beyond it. The form of the iſland has been compared by two eloquent writers (Livy among the ancients, and Fabius Ruſticus among the moderns) to an oblong ſhield, or a two-edged ax. The compariſon, if we except Caledonia, may be allowed to be juſt, and hence the ſhape of a part has been, by vulgar error, aſcribed to the whole. Caledonia ſtretches a vaſt length of way towards the north. The promontories, that jut out into the ſea, render the form of the country broken and irregular, but it ſharpens to a point at the extremity, and terminates in the ſhape of a wedge.

By

By Agricola's order the Roman fleet (*c*) ſailed round the northern point, and made the firſt certain diſcovery that Britain is an iſland. The cluſter of iſles called the Orcades (*d*), till then wholly unknown, was in this expedition added to the Roman empire. Thule (*e*), which had lain concealed in the gloom of winter and a depth of eternal ſnows, was alſo ſeen by our navigators. The ſea in thoſe parts is ſaid to be a ſluggiſh maſs of ſtagnated water (*f*), hardly yielding to the ſtroke of the oar, and never agitated by winds and tempeſts. The natural cauſe may be, that high lands and mountains, which occaſion commotions in the air, are deficient in thoſe regions; not to mention that ſuch a prodigious body of water, in a vaſt and boundleſs ocean, is heaved and impelled with difficulty. But a philoſophical account of the ocean and its periodical motions is not the deſign of this eſſay: the ſubject has employed the pen of others. To what they have ſaid I ſhall only add, that there is not in any other part of the world an expanſe of water that rages with ſuch uncontrouled dominion, now receiving the diſcharge of various rivers, and, at times, driving their current back to their ſource. Nor is it on the coaſt only that the flux and reflux of the tide are perceived: the ſwell of the ſea forces its way into the receſſes of the land, forming bays and iſlands in the heart of the country, and foaming amidſt hills and mountains, as in its natural channel.

XI. Whether the firſt inhabitants of Britain were natives of the iſland (*a*), or adventitious ſettlers, is a queſtion loſt in the miſts of antiquity. The Britons, like other barbarous nations, have no monuments of their hiſtory. They differ in the make and habit of their bodies, and hence various inferences concerning their origin.

origin. The ruddy hair and lusty limbs of the Caledonians (*b*) indicate a German extraction. That the Silures (*c*) were at first a colony of Iberians is concluded, not without probability, from the olive tincture of the skin, the natural curl of the hair, and the situation of the country, so convenient to the coast of Spain. On the side opposite to Gaul the inhabitants resemble their neighbours on the continent; but whether that resemblance is the effect of one common origin, or of the climate in contiguous nations operating on the make and temperament of the human body, is a point not easy to be decided. All circumstances considered, it is rather probable that a colony from Gaul took possession of a country so inviting by its proximity (*d*). You will find in both nations the same religious rites, and the same (*e*) superstition. The two languages differ but little (*f*). In provoking danger they discover the same ferocity, and in the encounter, the same timidity. The Britons, however, not yet enfeebled by a long peace, are possessed of superior courage (*g*). The Gauls, we learn from history, were formerly a warlike people; but sloth, the consequence of inactive times, has debased their genius, and virtue died with expiring liberty. Among such of the Britons (*h*), as have been for some time subdued, the same degeneracy is observable. The free and unconquered part of the nation retains at this hour the ferocity of the ancient Gauls.

XII. The strength of their armies consists in infantry, though some of their warriors take the field in chariots (*a*). The person of highest distinction guides the reins, while his martial followers mounted in the same vehicle, annoy the enemy. The Britons were formerly governed by a race of kings (*b*): at present they are divid-

ed into factions under various chieftains; and this diſunion, which prevents their acting in concert for a public intereſt, is a circumſtance highly favourable to the Roman arms againſt a warlike people, independant, fierce, and obſtinate. A confederation (*c*) of two or more ſtates to repel the common danger is ſeldom known: they fight in parties, and the nation is ſubdued.

The climate is unfavourable: always damp with rains, and overcaſt with clouds. Intenſe cold is never felt. The days are longer than in our ſouthern regions; the nights remarkably bright, and, towards the extremity of the iſland, ſo very ſhort (*d*), that between the laſt gleam of day and the returning dawn the interval is ſcarce perceptible. In a ſerene ſky, when no clouds intervene to obſtruct the ſight, the ſun, we are told, appears all night long, neither ſetting in the weſt, nor riſing in the eaſt, but always moving above the horizon. The cauſe of this phænomenon may be, that the ſurface of the earth, towards the northern extremities, being flat and level, the ſhade never riſes to any conſiderable height, and, the ſky ſtill retaining the rays of the ſun (*e*), the heavenly bodies continue viſible.

The ſoil does not afford either the vine, the olive, or the fruits of warmer climates: but it is otherwiſe fertile, and yields corn in great plenty. Vegetation is quick in ſhooting up, and ſlow in coming to maturity. Both effects are reducible to the ſame cauſe, the conſtant moiſture of the atmoſphere and the dampneſs of the ſoil. Britain contains, to reward the conqueror, mines of gold and ſilver (*f*), and other metals. The ſea produces pearls (*g*), but of a dark and livid colour. This defect is aſcribed by ſome to want of ſkill in this kind of fiſhery: the people, employed

ployed in gathering, content themſelves with gleaning what happens to be thrown upon the ſhore, whereas in the Red Sea the ſhell-fiſh are found clinging to the rocks, and taken alive. For my part, I am inclined to think that the Britiſh pearl is of an inferior quality. I cannot impute to avarice a neglect of its intereſt.

XIII. The Britons are willing to ſupply our armies with new levies; they pay their tribute without a murmur; and they perform all the ſervices of government with alacrity, provided they have no reaſon to complain of oppreſſion. When injured, their reſentment is quick, ſudden, and impatient: they are conquered, not broken-hearted; reduced to obedience, not ſubdued to ſlavery. Even Julius Cæſar, the firſt of the Romans (*a*) who ſet his foot in Britain at the head of an army, can only be ſaid by a proſperous battle to have ſtruck the natives with terror, and to have made himſelf maſter of the ſea-ſhore. The diſcoverer, not the conqueror of the iſland, he did no more than ſhew it to poſterity. Rome could not boaſt of a conqueſt. The civil wars broke out ſoon after, and, in that ſcene of diſtraction, when the ſwords of the leading men were drawn againſt their country, it was natural to loſe ſight of Britain. During the peace that followed the ſame neglect continued: Auguſtus called it the wiſdom of his councils (*b*), and Tiberius made it a rule of ſtate-policy.

That Caligula meditated an invaſion of Britain (*c*) is a fact well known; but the expedition, like his mighty preparations againſt Germany, was rendered abortive by the capricious temper of the man, reſolving always without conſideration, and repenting without experiment. The grand enterpriſe was reſerved for the emperor

Claudius (*d*), who tranſported into Britain an army compoſed of regular legions, beſides a large body of auxiliaries. With the officers, appointed to conduct the war, he joined Veſpaſian, who there laid the foundation of that ſucceſs which afterwards attended him. Several ſtates were conquered, kings were led in captivity, and the Fates beheld Veſpaſian giving an earneſt of his future glory.

XIV. The firſt officer of conſular rank, that commanded in Britain, was Aulus Plautius (*a*). To him ſucceeded Oſtorius Scapula (*b*); both eminent for their military character. Under their auſpices the ſouthern part of Britain took the form of a province, and received a colony of veterans (*c*). Certain diſtricts were aſſigned to Cogidunus, a king, who reigned over part of the country. He lived within our own memory, preſerving always his faith unviolated, and exhibiting a ſtriking proof of that refined policy, with which it has ever been the practice of Rome to make even kings accomplices in the ſervitude of mankind.

The next governor was Didius Gallus (*d*). He preſerved the acquiſitions made by his predeceſſors, without aiming at an extenſion of territory, and without any advantage, except a few forts, which he built on the remote borders of the province, in hopes of gaining ſome pretenſion to the fame of having enlarged the frontier. Veranius (*e*) ſucceeded to the command, but died within the year. Suetonius Paulinus (*f*) was the next in ſucceſſion. That officer puſhed on the war in one continued ſeries of proſperity for two years together. In that time he ſubdued ſeveral ſtates, and ſecured his conqueſt by a chain of poſts and garriſons. Confiding in the ſtrength, which he had thus eſtabliſhed, he formed the plan of reducing

ducing the isle of Mona (*g*), the grand resource from which the malecontents drew their supplies. But having, in that expedition, turned his back on the conquered provinces, he gave an opportunity for a general revolt.

XV. The Britons, relieved from their fears by the absence of the commander in chief, began to descant on the horrors of slavery (*a*). They stated their grievances, and, to inflame resentment, painted every thing in the most glaring colours. "What was now the consequence of their passive "spirit? The hand of oppression falls on the "tame and abject with greater weight. Each "state was formerly subject to a single king (*b*), "but now two masters rule with an iron-rod. "The general gluts himself with the blood of "the vanquished, and the imperial procurator "devours our property. Those haughty tyrants "may act in concert, or they may be at variance; "but in either case the lot of the Britons is the "same. The centurions of the general, and the "followers of the tax-gatherer add pride and in-"solence to injustice and rapacity. Nothing is "safe from avarice, nothing by lust unviolated. "In the field of battle, the booty is for the brave "and warlike: at present, cowards and abject "wretches seize the possessions of the natives; "to them the Britons tamely yield up their "children; for them they make new levies, and "in short, the good of his country is the only "cause in which a Briton has forgot to die. "Compute the number of men, born in freedom, "who inhabit the island, and the Roman inva-"ders are but a handful. It was thus the Ger-"mans argued, and they shook off the yoke (*c*). "No ocean rolled between them and the inva-"der: they were separated by a river only. "The Britons have every motive to excite their "valour.

" valour. They have their country to defend, " and they have their liberty to aſſert; they have " wives and children to urge them on; and they " have parents, who ſue to them for protection. " On the part of the Romans, if we except lux- " ury and avarice, what incentives are there to " draw them to the field? Let Britiſh valour " emulate the virtue of ancient times, and the " invaders, like their own deified Cæſar, will " abandon the iſland. The loſs of a ſingle battle, " and even a ſecond, cannot decide the fate of a " whole people. Many advantages liſt on the " ſide of miſery. To attack with fury, and per- " ſevere with conſtancy, belongs to men who " groan under oppreſſion. The gods, at length, " behold the Britons with an eye of compaſſion: " they have removed the Roman general from " his ſtation; they detain him and his army in " another iſland (*d*). The oppreſſed have gained " an advantage, too often difficult to obtain: " they can now deliberate; they are met in " council. In deſigns like theſe, the whole dan- " ger lies in being detected: act like men, and " ſucceſs will be the iſſue of the war."

XVI. Inflamed by theſe and ſuch like topics, the ſpirit of revolt was diffuſed through the country. With one conſent they took up arms, under the conduct of Boadicea (*a*), a queen deſcended from a race of royal anceſtors. In Britain there is no rule of diſtinction to exclude the female line from the throne, or the command of armies. The inſurgents ruſhed to the attack with headlong fury; they found the Romans diſperſed in their garriſons; they put all to the ſword; they ſtormed the forts; they attacked the capital of the colony, which they conſidered as the ſeat of oppreſſion, and with fire and ſword laid it level with the ground. Whatever revenge could

could prompt, or victory inſpire, was executed with unrelenting cruelty; and if Suetonius (*b*), on the firſt intelligence, had not haſtened back by rapid marches, Britain had been loſt. By the event of a ſingle battle the province was recovered, though the embers of rebellion were not quite extinguiſhed. Numbers of the malecontents, conſcious of their ſhare in the revolt, and dreading the vengeance of Suetonius, ſtill continued under arms.

The truth is, notwithſtanding the excellent qualities that diſtinguiſhed the Roman general, it was the blemiſh of his character, that he proceeded always againſt the vanquiſhed, even after they ſurrendered, with exceſſive rigour. Juſtice, under his adminiſtration, had frequently the air of revenge for a perſonal injury. In his public proceedings he mingled too much of his own paſſions, and was therefore recalled, to make way for Petronius Turpilianus (*c*), a man of leſs aſperity, new to the Britons, and, having no reſentments, likely to be ſatisfied on moderate terms. He reſtored the tranquillity of the iſland and, without attempting any thing farther, reſigned the province to Trebellius Maximus (*d*), an officer of no experience, by nature indolent and inactive, but poſſeſſed of certain popular arts, that reconciled the minds of men to his adminiſtration. The Barbarians, at this time, had acquired a taſte for elegant and alluring vices. The civil wars, which ſoon afterwards convulſed the empire, were a fair apology for the pacific temper of the general. His army, however, was not free from inteſtine diſcord. The ſoldiers, formerly inured to diſcipline, grew wanton in idleneſs, and broke out into open ſedition. To avoid the fury of his men, Trebellius was obliged to ſave himſelf by flight. Having lain for ſome time

time in a place of concealment, he returned with an aukward air to take upon him the command. His dignity was impaired, and his ſpirit humbled. From that time his authority was feeble and precarious. It ſeemed to be a compromiſe between the parties: the general remained unmoleſted, the ſoldiers uncontrouled, and on thoſe terms the mutiny ended without bloodſhed. Vettius Bolanus (*e*) was the next commander; but the diſtractions of the civil war ſtill continuing, he did not think it adviſeable to introduce a plan of regular diſcipline. The ſame inactive diſpoſition on the part of the general, and the ſame mutinous ſpirit among the ſoldiers, ſtill prevailed. The only difference was, that the character of Bolanus was without a blemiſh. If he did not eſtabliſh his authority, he lived on good terms with all; beloved, though not reſpected.

XVII. When Britain, with the reſt of the Roman world, fell to the lot of Veſpaſian, the ableſt officers were ſent to reduce the iſland; powerful armies were ſet in motion, and the ſpirit of the natives began to droop. In order to ſpread a general terror, Petilius Cerealis (*a*) fell with ſudden fury on the Brigantes (*b*), in point of numbers the moſt conſiderable ſtate in the whole province. Various battles were fought, with alternate ſucceſs, and great effuſion of blood. At length the greateſt part of that extenſive country was either ſubdued, or involved in all the calamities of war. The fame of Cerealis grew to a ſize that might diſcourage the ableſt ſucceſſor; and yet under that diſadvantage Julius Frontinus (*c*) undertook the command. His talents did not ſuffer by the compariſon. He was a man truly great, and ſure to ſignaliſe himſelf, whenever a fair opportunity called forth his abilities. He reduced to ſubjection the powerful and warlike

like ſtate of the Silures (*d*), and, though in that expedition he had to cope not only with a fierce and obſtinate enemy, but with the difficulties of a country almoſt impracticable, it was his glory that he ſurmounted every obſtacle.

XVIII. Such was the ſtate of Britain, and ſuch the events of war, when Agricola arrived about the middle of ſummer (*e*) to take upon him the command. He found an army lulled in indolence and ſecurity, as if the campaign was at an end, while the enemy was on the watch to ſeize the firſt opportunity. The Ordovicians (*b*), not long before his arrival had fallen upon a party of horſe, that happened to be quartered in their diſtrict, and put them almoſt all to the ſword. By this blow the courage of the Britons was once more revived: the bold and reſolute declared for open war, while others, leſs ſanguine, were againſt unſheathing the ſword, till the character and genius of the new governor ſhould be better known.

Many things conſpired to embarraſs Agricola: the ſummer was far advanced; the troops were ſtationed at different quarters, expecting a ceſſation of arms during the remainder of the year; and to act on the defenſive, content with ſtrengthening the weakeſt ſtations, was in the opinion of the beſt officers the moſt prudent meaſure. Theſe were circumſtances unfavourable to a ſpirit of enterpriſe; but the general reſolved to put his army in motion, and face the danger without delay. For this purpoſe, he drew together various detachments from the legions, and, with the addition of a body of auxiliaries, marched againſt the enemy. The Ordovicians continuing to decline an engagement on the open plain, he determined to ſeek them on their heights, and, to animate his men by his own example,

example, he advanced at the head of the line. A battle enſued, and the iſſue was the deſtruction of the Ordovician ſtate. Knowing of what moment it is to follow the firſt impreſſions of fame, and little doubting but that every thing would fall before an army fluſhed with victory, Agricola formed a plan for the reduction of the iſle of Mona (*c*), from which Paulinus had been recalled by the general inſurrection of the province, as already mentioned.

For the execution of an enterpriſe ſo ſudden and important, no meaſures had been concerted, and, by conſequence, no veſſels were ready to tranſport the troops. The genius and reſolution of the general ſupplied all deficiencies. He draughted from the auxiliaries a choſen band, well acquainted with the fordable places, and, inured to the national practice of ſwimming acroſs lakes and rivers with ſuch dexterity, that they could manage their arms and guide their horſes at the ſame time. This ſelect corps, free from the incumbrance of their baggage, daſhed into the water, and made their way with vigour towards the iſland. This mode of attack aſtoniſhed the enemy, who expected nothing leſs than a fleet of tranſports, and a regular embarkation. Struck with conſternation, they thought nothing impregnable to men, who waged ſo unuſual a war. In deſpair they ſued for peace, and ſurrendered the iſland. The event added new luſtre to the name of Agricola, who had thus ſet out with a ſpirit of enterpriſe, and crowded ſo much glory into that part of the year, which is uſually trifled away in vain parade and the homage of flatterers. The moderation, with which he enjoyed his victory, was remarkable. He had reduced the vanquiſhed to obedience, and the act, he ſaid, did not deſerve the name

name of victory, nor even of an expedition. In his diſpatches to Rome he aſſumed no merit, nor were his letters according to cuſtom, decorated (*d*) with ſprigs of laurel. But this ſelf-denial ſerved only to enhance his fame. From the modeſty of a commander, who could undervalue ſuch important ſervices, men inferred that projects of vaſt extent were even then in his contemplation.

XIX. AGRICOLA was well acquainted with the manners and national character of the Britons: he knew by the experience of paſt events, that conqueſt, while it loads the vanquiſhed with injury and oppreſſion, can never be ſecure and permanent. He determined, therefore, to ſuppreſs the ſeeds of future hoſtility. He began a reform in his own houſehold; a neceſſary work, but attended often with no leſs difficulty than the adminiſtration of a province. He removed his ſlaves and freedmen from every department of public buſineſs. Promotions in the army no longer went by favour, or the partiality of the centurions; merit decided, and the man of worth, Agricola knew, would be the moſt faithful ſoldier. To know every thing, and yet overlook a great deal; to forgive ſlight offences (*a*), and treat matters of importance with due ſeverity, was the rule of his conduct; never vindictive, and in many inſtances diſarmed by penitence. The prevention of crimes was what he wiſhed, and to that end, in the diſpoſal of offices he made choice of men, whoſe conduct promiſed to ſuperſede the neceſſity of puniſhment.

The exigencies of the army called for large contributions of corn and other ſupplies, and yet he lightened the burthen by juſt and equal aſſeſſments, providing at the ſame time againſt the

the extortions of the tax-gatherer (*b*), more odious and intolerable than even the tax itſelf. It had been the ſettled practice of the collectors to engroſs all the corn, and then, adding mockery to injuſtice, to make the injured Briton wait at the door of the public granary (*c*), humbly ſupplicating that he might be permitted to repurchaſe his own grain, which he was afterwards obliged to ſell at an inferior price. A further grievance was, that, inſtead of delivering the requiſite quantity of corn at the neareſt and moſt convenient magazines, the Britons were forced to make tedious journeys through difficult croſs-country roads, in order to ſupply camps and ſtations at a remote diſtance; and thus the buſineſs, which might have been conducted with convenience to all, was converted into a job to gratify the avarice of a few.

XX. In the firſt year of Agricola's adminiſtration theſe abuſes were all ſuppreſſed. The conſequence was, that peace, which through the neglect or connivance of former governors was no leſs terrible than war itſelf, began to diffuſe its bleſſings, and to be reliſhed by all. As ſoon as the (*a*) ſummer opened, he aſſembled his army, and marched in queſt of the enemy. Ever preſent at the head of the lines, he encouraged the ſtrenuous by commendation; he rebuked the ſluggard, who fell from his rank; he went in perſon to mark out the ſtation for encampments (*b*); he founded the æſtuaries, and explored the woods and foreſts (*c*). The Britons, in the mean time, were by ſudden incurſions kept in a conſtant alarm. Having ſpread a general terror through the country, he then ſuſpended his operations, that, in the interval of repoſe, the Barbarians might taſte the ſweets of peace. In conſequence of theſe meaſures, ſeveral

ſeveral ſtates, which till then had breathed a ſpirit of independence, were induced to lay aſide their hoſtile intentions, and to give hoſtages for their pacific behaviour. Along the frontier of the ſeveral diſtricts, which had ſubmitted, a chain of poſts was eſtabliſhed, with ſo much care and judgment, that no part of the country, even where the Roman arms had never penetrated, could think itſelf ſecure from the vigour of the conqueror.

XXI. To introduce a ſyſtem of new and wiſe regulations was the buſineſs of the following winter. A fierce and ſavage people, running wild in woods, would be ever addicted to a life of warfare. To wean them from thoſe habits, Agricola held forth the baits of pleaſure, encouraging the natives, as well by public aſſiſtance, as by warm exhortations, to build temples (*a*), courts of juſtice, and commodious dwelling-houſes. He beſtowed encomiums on ſuch as cheerfully obeyed: the ſlow and uncomplying were branded with reproach; and thus a ſpirit of emulation diffuſed itſelf, operating like a ſenſe of duty. To eſtabliſh a plan of education, and give the ſons of the leading chiefs a tincture of letters, was part of his policy. By way of encouragement, he praiſed their talents, and already ſaw them, by the force of their natural genius, riſing ſuperior (*b*) to the attainments of the Gauls. The conſequence was, that they, who had always diſdained the Roman language, began to cultivate its beauties. The Roman apparel was ſeen without prejudice, and the toga became a faſhionable part of dreſs. By degrees the charms of vice gained admiſſion to their hearts; baths, and porticos, and elegant banquets grew into vogue; and the new manners, which, in fact, ſerved only to ſweeten ſlavery,

were

were by the unſuſpecting Britons called the arts of poliſhed humanity.

XXII. In the courſe of the third year (*a*) the progreſs of the Roman arms diſcovered new nations, whoſe territories were laid waſte as far as the æſtuary, called the Firth of Tay (*b*). The legions had to ſtruggle with all the difficulties of a tempeſtuous ſeaſon; and yet the Barbarians, ſtruck with a general panic, never dared to hazard an engagement. The country, as far as the Romans advanced, was ſecured by forts and garriſons (*c*). Men of ſkill and military ſcience obſerved that no officer knew better than Agricola, how to ſeize, on a ſudden view, the moſt advantageous ſituation, and, accordingly, not one of the ſtations, fortified by his direction, was taken by ſtorm; not one was reduced to capitulate; not one was ſurrendered or abandoned to the enemy. At every poſt, to enable the garriſon to ſtand a ſiege, a year's proviſion was provided, and, each place having ſtrength ſufficient, frequent ſallies were made; the beſiegers were repulſed; and the Romans paſſed the winter ſecure from danger. The conſequence of theſe precautions was, that the enemy, who had been accuſtomed to retrieve in the winter what they loſt in the antecedent ſummer, ſaw no difference of ſeaſons; they were defeated every where, and reduced to the laſt deſpair. Avarice of fame was no part of Agricola's character; nor was he ever known to arrogate to himſelf the praiſes due to other officers. From the commander of a legion to the loweſt centurion, all found in their general a willing witneſs of their conduct. In his manner of expreſſing his diſapprobation, he was thought to mix a degree of aſperity. The truth is, his antipathy to bad men was equalled by nothing but his politeneſs to the deſerving. His anger ſoon

paſſed away, and left no trace behind. From his ſilence you had nothing to fear. Scorning to diſguiſe his ſentiments, he acted always with a generous warmth, at the hazard of making enemies. To harbour ſecret reſentment was not in his nature.

XXIII. The buſineſs of the fourth campaign (*a*) was to ſecure the country, which had been overrun, not conquered, in the preceding ſummer; and if the ſpirit of the troops and the glory of the Roman name had been capable of ſuffering any limits, there was in Britain itſelf a convenient ſpot, where the boundary of the empire might have been fixed. The place for that purpoſe was, where the waters of the Glota and Bodotria (*b*), driven up the country by the influx of two oppoſite ſeas, are hindered from joining by a narrow neck of land, which was then guarded by a chain of forts (*c*). On the ſouth ſide of the iſthmus the whole country was bridled by the Romans, and evacuated by the enemy, who were driven, as it were, into another iſland (*d*).

XXIV. In the fifth ſummer (*a*) Agricola made an expedition by ſea. He embarked in the firſt Roman veſſel that ever croſſed the æſtuary (*b*), and having penetrated into regions till then unknown, he defeated the inhabitants in ſeveral engagements, and lined the coaſt, which lies oppoſite to Ireland, with a body of troops; not ſo much from an apprehenſion of danger, as with a view to future projects. He ſaw that Ireland, lying between Britain and Spain, and at the ſame time convenient to the ports of Gaul, might prove a valuable acquiſition, capable of giving an eaſy communication, and, of courſe, ſtrength and union to provinces disjoined by nature.

Ireland is leſs than Britain, but exceeds in magnitude all the iſlands of the Mediterranean. The

The ſoil, the climate, the manners and genius of the inhabitants differ little from thoſe of Britain. By the means of merchants reſorting thither for the ſake of commerce, the harbours and approaches to the coaſt are well known. One of their petty kings (*c*) who had been forced to fly from the fury of a domeſtic faction, was received by the Roman general, and, under a ſhew of friendſhip, detained to be of uſe on ſome future occaſions. I have often heard Agricola declare that a ſingle legion, with a moderate band of auxiliaries, would be ſufficient to complete the conqueſt of Ireland. Such an event, he ſaid, would contribute greatly to bridle the ſtubborn ſpirit of the Britons, who, in that caſe, would ſee, with diſmay, the Roman arms triumphant, and every ſpark of liberty extinguiſhed round their coaſt.

XXV. In the campaign (*a*), which began in the ſixth ſummer, having reaſon to apprehend a general confederacy of the nations beyond the Firth of Bodotria, and fearing, in a country not yet explored, the danger of a ſurpriſe, Agricola ordered his ſhips to ſail acroſs the gulf (*b*), and gain ſome knowledge of thoſe new regions. The fleet, now acting, for the firſt time, in concert with the land-forces, proceeded in ſight of the army, forming a magnificent ſpectacle, and adding terror to the war. It frequently happened, that in the ſame camp were ſeen the infantry and cavalry intermixed with the marines, all indulging their joy, full of their adventures, and magnifying the hiſtory of their exploits; the ſoldier deſcribing, in the uſual ſtyle of military oſtentation, the foreſts which he had paſſed, the mountains which he climbed, and the Barbarians whom he put to the rout; while the ſailor, no leſs important, had his ſtorms and tempeſts,

the

the wonders of the deep, and the ſpirit with which he conquered winds and waves.

At the ſight of the Roman fleet, the Britons, according to intelligence gained from the priſoners, were ſtruck with conſternation, convinced that every reſource was cut off, ſince the ſea, which had always been their ſhelter, was now laid open to the invader. In this diſtreſs, the Caledonians reſolved to try the iſſue of a battle. Warlike preparations were inſtantly begun with a degree of exertion, great in reality, but, as is always the caſe in matters obſcure and diſtant, magnified by the voice of fame. Without waiting for the commencement of hoſtilities, they ſtormed the Roman forts and caſtles (*c*), and, by provoking danger, made ſuch an impreſſion, that ſeveral officers in Agricola's army, diſguiſing their fear under the ſpecious appearance of prudent counſels, recommended a ſudden retreat, to avoid the diſgrace of being driven back to the other ſide of the Firth. Meanwhile Agricola received intelligence that the enemy meditated an attack in various quarters at once, and thereupon, left ſuperior numbers, in a country, where he was a ſtranger to the defiles and paſſes, ſhould be able to ſurround him, he divided his army, and marched forward in three columns.

XXVI. The Caledonians, informed of this arrangement, changed their plan, and, in the dead of night, fell with their united force upon the ninth legion (*a*), then the weakeſt of the Roman army. They ſurpriſed the advanced guard, and having, in the confuſion of ſleep and terror, put the ſentinels to the ſword, they forced their way through the entrenchments. The conflict was in the very camp, when Agricola, who had been informed that the Barbarians were on their march, and inſtantly purſued their ſteps, came

up to the relief of the legion. He ordered the ſwifteſt of the horſe and light infantry to advance with expedition, and charge the enemy in the rear, while his whole army ſet up a general ſhout. At break of day the Roman banners glittered in view of the Barbarians, who found themſelves hemmed in by two armies, and began to relax their vigour. The ſpirit of the legion revived. The men perceived that the moment of diſtreſs was over, and the ſtruggle was now for glory. Acting no longer on the defenſive, they ruſhed on to the attack. In the very gates (*b*) of the camp a fierce and obſtinate engagement followed. The beſieged legion, and the forces, that came to their relief, fought with a ſpirit of emulation; the latter contending for the honour of ſuccouring the diſtreſſed, and the former, to prove that they ſtood in no need of aſſiſtance. The Caledonians were put to the rout; and if the woods and marſhes (*c*) had not favoured their eſcape, that ſingle action had put an end to the war.

XXVII. By this victory, ſo complete and glorious, the Roman army was inſpired with confidence, to ſuch a degree, that they now pronounced themſelves invincible. Nothing could ſtand before them: they deſired to be led into the receſſes of the country, and, by following their blow, to penetrate to the extremity of the iſland. Even the prudent of the day before changed their tone with the event, and talked of nothing but victory and conqueſt. Such is the tax, which the commanders of armies muſt always pay: the merit of ſucceſs is claimed by all; calamity is imputed to the general only.

The Caledonians, notwithſtanding their defeat, abated nothing from their ferocity. Their want of ſucceſs, they ſaid, was not to be aſcribed to ſuperior courage; it was the chance of war,

or,

or, perhaps, the ſkill of the Roman general. In this perſuaſion they reſolved to keep the field. They liſted the young men of their nation; they ſent their wives and children to a place of ſafety; they held public conventions of the ſeveral ſtates, and with ſolemn rites and ſacrifices (*a*) formed a league in the cauſe of liberty. The campaign ended in this manner, and the two armies, inflamed with mutual animoſity, retired into winter-quarters.

XXVIII. In the courſe of the ſame ſummer, a cohort of the Uſipians (*a*) which had been raiſed in Germany, and thence tranſported to ſerve in Britain, performed an exploit ſo daring and extraordinary, that in this place it may be allowed to merit attention. Having murdered the centurion, who was left in command, and alſo the ſoldiers, who, for the purpoſe of introducing military diſcipline, had been incorporated with the ſeveral companies (*b*), they ſeized three light galleys, and, forcing the maſters on board, determined to ſail from the iſland. One of the pilots made his eſcape, and ſuſpicion falling on the other two, they were both killed on the ſpot. Before their deſign tranſpired, the deſerters put to ſea, to the aſtoniſhment of all who beheld the veſſels under way.

They had not ſailed far, when they became the ſport of winds and waves. They made frequent deſcents on the coaſt in queſt of plunder, and had various conflicts with the natives, victorious in ſome places, and in others beat back to their ſhips. Reduced at length to the extremity of famine, they fed on their companions, at firſt devouring the weakeſt, and afterwards deciding among themſelves by lot. In this diſtreſs they ſailed round the extremity of the iſland (*c*), and, through want of ſkill in naviga-

tion, were wrecked on the continent, where they were treated as pirates, firſt by the Suevians, and afterwards by the Friſians. Being ſold to ſlavery, and in the way of commerce turned over to different maſters, ſome of them reached the Roman ſettlements on the banks of the Rhine, and there grew famous for their ſufferings, and the bold ſingularity of their voyage. In the beginning of the following ſummer (*d*) Agricola met with a ſtroke of affliction by the loſs of a ſon, about a year old. He did not upon this occaſion affect, like many others, the character of a man ſuperior to the feelings of nature; nor yet did he ſuffer his grief to ſink him down into unbecoming weakneſs. He felt the impreſſion, but regret was loſt in the avocations of war.

XXIX. In the opening of the campaign, he diſpatched his fleet, with orders to annoy the coaſt by frequent deſcents in different places, and ſpread a general alarm. He put himſelf, in the mean time, at the head of his army equipped for expedition, and taking with him a ſelect band of the braveſt Britons, of known and approved fidelity, he advanced as far as the Grampian hills (*a*), where the enemy was already poſted in force. Undiſmayed by their former defeat, the Barbarians expected no other iſſue than a total overthrow, or a brave revenge. Experience had taught them that the common cauſe required a vigorous exertion of their united ſtrength. For this purpoſe, by treaties of alliance, and, by deputations to the ſeveral cantons, they had drawn together the ſtrength of their nation. Upwards of thirty thouſand men appeared in arms, and their force was increaſing every day. The youth of the country poured in from all quarters, and even the men in years, whoſe vigour was ſtill unbroken, repaired to the army,

army, proud of their paſt exploits, and the enſigns of honour which they had gained by their martial ſpirit. Among the chieftains, diſtinguiſhed by their birth and valour, the moſt renowned was Galgacus (*b*). The multitude gathered round him, eager for action, and burning with uncommon ardour. He harangued them to the following effect:

XXX. "When I conſider the motives that "have rouſed us to this war; when I reflect on "the neceſſity that now demands our firmeſt vi- "gour, I expect every thing great and noble "from that union of ſentiment that pervades us "all. From this day I date the freedom of Britain. "We are the men, who never crouched in bon- "dage. Beyond this ſpot there is no land, where "liberty can find a refuge. Even the ſea is ſhut "againſt us, while the Roman fleet is hovering "on the coaſt. To draw the ſword in the cauſe "of freedom is the true glory of the brave, and, "in our condition, cowardice itſelf would throw "away the ſcabbard. In the battles, which have "been hitherto fought with alternate viciſſitudes "of fortune, our countrymen might well repoſe "ſome hopes in us; they might conſider us as "their laſt reſource; they knew us to be the no- "bleſt ſons of Britain, placed in the laſt receſſ- "es of the land, in the very ſanctuary of liber- "ty. We have not ſo much as ſeen the melan- "choly regions, where ſlavery has debaſed man- "kind. We have lived in freedom, and our "eyes have been unpolluted by the ſight of ig- "noble bondage.

"The extremity of the earth is ours: defend- "ed by our ſituation, we have to this day pre- "ſerved our honour and the rights of men. "But we are no longer ſafe in our obſcurity: "our retreat is laid open; the enemy ruſhes on,

" and, as things unknown are ever magnified,
" he thinks a mighty conqueſt lies before him.
" But this is the end of the habitable world,
" and rocks and brawling waves fill all the ſpace
" behind. The Romans are in the heart of our
" country; no ſubmiſſion can ſatisfy their pride;
" no conceſſions can appeaſe their fury. While
" the land has any thing left, it is the theatre
" of war; when it can yield no more, they ex-
" plore the ſeas for hidden treaſure. Are the
" nations rich? Roman avarice is their enemy.
" Are they poor? Roman ambition lords it over
" them. The eaſt and the weſt have been rifled,
" and the ſpoiler is ſtill inſatiate. The Romans,
" by a ſtrange ſingularity of nature, are the
" only people, who invade, with equal ardour,
" the wealth, and the poverty of nations. To
" rob, to ravage, and to murder, in their impoſ-
" ing language, are the arts of civil policy.
" When they have made the world a ſolitude,
" they call it peace.

XXXI. " Our children and relatives are dear
" to us all. It is an affection planted in our
" breaſt by the hand of nature. And yet thoſe
" tender pledges are raviſhed from us to ſerve
" in diſtant lands. Are our wives, our ſiſters,
" and our daughters ſafe from brutal luſt and
" open violation? The inſidious conqueror,
" under the maſk of hoſpitality and friendſhip,
" brands them with diſhonour. Our money is
" conveyed into their treaſury, and our corn
" into their granaries. Our limbs and bodies
" are worn out in clearing woods, and draining
" marſhes: and what have been our wages?
" Stripes and inſult. The lot of the meaneſt
" ſlave, born in ſervitude, is preferable to ours:
" he is ſold but once, and his maſter maintains
" him; but Britain every day invites new ty-
rants,

" rants, and every day pampers their pride. In " a private family the ſlave, who is laſt bought " in, provokes the mirth and ridicule of the " whole domeſtic crew; and in this general ſer- " vitude, to which Rome has reduced the world, " the caſe is the ſame: we are treated, at firſt, " as objects of deriſion, and then marked out " for deſtruction.

" What better lot can we expect? We have no " arable lands to cultivate for a maſter: no " mines to dig for his avarice; no harbours to " improve for his commerce. To what end " ſhould the conqueror ſpare us? Our virtue " and undaunted ſpirit are crimes in the eyes of " the conqueror, and will render us more ob- " noxious. Our remote ſituation, hitherto the " retreat of freedom, and on that account the " more ſuſpected, will only ſerve to inflame the " jealouſy of our enemies. We muſt expect " no mercy. Let us therefore dare like men. " We all are ſummoned by the great call of " nature; not only thoſe who know the value " of liberty, but even ſuch as think life on any " terms the deareſt bleſſing. The Trinobantes " (*a*), who had only a woman to lead them on, " were able to carry fire and ſword through a " whole colony. They ſtormed the camps of " the enemy, and, if ſucceſs had not intoxicated " them, they had been, beyond all doubt, the " deliverers of their country. And ſhall not " we, unconquered and undebaſed by ſlavery, " a nation ever free, and ſtruggling now, not " to recover, but to enſure our liberties (*b*), " ſhall we not go forth the champions of our " country? Shall we not, by one generous effort, " ſhew the Romans, that we are the men whom " Caledonia has reſerved to be aſſertors of the " public weal?

XXXII.

XXXII. " We know the manners of the Romans: and are we to imagine that their valour " in the field is equal to their arrogance in time " of peace? By our diſſenſions their glory " riſes; the vices of their enemies are the negative virtues of the Roman army; if that may " be called an army, which is no better than a " motley crew of various nations, held together " by ſucceſs, and ready to crumble away in the " firſt reverſe of fortune. That this will be " their fate, no one can doubt, unleſs we ſuppoſe that the Gaul, the German, and (with " ſhame I add) the Britons, a mercenary band, " who hire their blood in a foreign ſervice, will " adhere from principle to a new maſter, whom " they have lately ſerved, and long deteſted. " They are now enliſted by awe and terror: " break their fetters, and the man who forgets " to fear, will ſeek revenge.

" All that can inſpire the human heart; every " motive that can excite us to deeds of valour, " is on our ſide. The Romans have no wives " (*a*) in the field to animate their drooping ſpirit; " no parents to reproach their want of courage. " They are not liſted in the cauſe of their country: their country, if any they have (*b*), lies " at a diſtance. They are a band of mercenaries, a wretched handful of devoted men, " who tremble and look aghaſt as they roll their " eyes around, and ſee on every ſide objects unknown before. The ſky over their heads, " the ſea, the woods, all things conſpire to fill " them with doubt and terror. They come like " victims, delivered into our hands by the gods, " to fall this day a ſacrifice to freedom.

" In the enſuing battle be not deceived by falſe " appearances: the glitter of gold and ſilver (*c*) " may dazzle the eye; but to us it is harmleſs,

to

" to the Romans no protection. In their own " ranks we ſhall find a number of generous war- " riors ready to aſſiſt our cauſe. The Britons " know that for our common liberties we draw " the avenging ſword. The Gauls will remember " that they once were a free people; and the " Germans, as the Uſipians (*d*) lately did, will " deſert their colours. The Romans have left " nothing in their rear to oppoſe us in the pur- " ſuit: their forts are ungarriſoned; the vete- " rans in their colonies droop with age; in their " municipal towns, nothing but anarchy, deſ- " potic government, and diſaffected ſubjects. " In me behold your general; behold an army " of freeborn men. Your enemy is before you, " and, in his train, heavy tributes, drudgery in " the mines, and all the horrors of ſlavery. Are " thoſe calamities to be entailed upon us? Or " ſhall this day relieve us by a brave revenge? " There is the field of battle, and let that de- " termine. Let us ſeek the enemy, and, as we " ruſh upon him, remember the glory delivered " down to us by our anceſtors; and let each man " think that upon his ſword depends the fate of " all poſterity."

XXXIII. This ſpeech was received, accord- ing to the cuſtom of Barbarians, with war-ſongs, with ſavage howlings, and a wild uproar of mi- litary applauſe. Their battalions began to form the line of battle; the brave and warlike ruſhed forward to the front, and the field glittered with the blaze of arms. The Romans on their ſide burned with equal ardour. Agricola ſaw the impatient ſpirit of his men, but did not think proper to begin the engagement, till he confirm- ed their courage by the following ſpeech: " It is " now, my fellow ſoldiers, the eighth year (*a*) " of our ſervice in Britain. During that time, the

" the genius and good auſpices of the Roman
" empire, with your aſſiſtance and unwearied
" labour, have made the iſland our own. In
" all our expeditions, in every battle, the ene-
" my has felt your valour, and by your toil
" and perſeverance the very nature of the coun-
" try has been conquered. I have been proud
" of my ſoldiers, and you have had no rea-
" ſon to bluſh for your general. We have
" carried the terror of our arms beyond the li-
" mits of any other ſoldiers, or any former ge-
" neral (*b*); we have penetrated to the extre-
" mity of the land. This was formerly the
" boaſt of vain-glory, the mere report of fame:
" it is now hiſtorical truth. We have gained
" poſſeſſion ſword in hand; we are encamped on
" the utmoſt limits of the iſland. Britain is diſ-
" covered, and by the diſcovery conquered.

" In our long and laborious marches, when
" you were obliged to traverſe moors, and fens,
" and rivers, and to climb ſteep and craggy
" mountains, it was ſtill the cry of the braveſt
" amongſt you, When ſhall we be led to battle?
" When ſhall we ſee the enemy? Behold them
" now before you. They are hunted out of
" their dens and caverns; your wiſh is granted,
" and the field of glory lies open to your ſwords.
" One victory more makes this new world our
" own; but remember that a defeat involves us
" all in the laſt diſtreſs. If we conſider the pro-
" greſs of our arms, to look back is glorious;
" the tract of country that lies behind us, the
" foreſts which you have explored, and the æſtua-
" ries which you have paſſed, are monuments of
" eternal fame. But our fame can only laſt,
" while we preſs forward on the enemy. If we
" give ground, if we think of a retreat, we
" have the ſame difficulties to ſurmount again.

" The

" The ſucceſs, which is now our pride, will in " that caſe be our worſt misfortune. We are " not ſufficiently acquainted with the courſe of " the country; the enemy knows the defiles " and marſhes, and will be ſupplied with pro- " viſions in abundance. We have not thoſe " advantages, but we have hands that can graſp " the ſword, and we have valour (*c*), that gives " us every thing. With me it has long been a " ſettled principle, that the back of a general " or his army is never ſafe. Which of you " would not rather die with honour, than live " in infamy? But life and honour are this day " inſeparable; they are fixed to one ſpot. Should " fortune declare againſt us, we die on the ut- " moſt limits of the world; and to die, where " nature ends, cannot be deemed inglorious.

XXXIV. " If our preſent ſtruggle were with " nations wholly unknown; if we had to do " with an enemy new to our ſwords, I ſhould " call to mind the example of other armies. " At preſent, what can I propoſe ſo bright and " animating as your own exploits? I appeal to " your own eyes: behold the men drawn up " againſt you: are they not the ſame, who laſt " year, under covert of the night, aſſaulted the " ninth legion (*a*), and, upon the firſt ſhout " of our army, fled before you? A band of daſ- " tards! who have ſubſiſted hitherto, becauſe of " all the Britons they are the moſt expeditious " runaways.

" In woods and foreſts the fierce and noble " animals attack the huntſmen, and ruſh on " certain deſtruction; but the timorous herd is " ſoon diſperſed, ſcared by the ſound and cla- " mour of the chaſe. In like manner, the brave " and warlike Britons have long ſince periſhed " by the ſword. The refuſe of the nation ſtill " remains.

" remains. They have not ſtaid to make head " againſt you; they are hunted down; they are " caught in the toils. Benumbed with fear, " they ſtand motionleſs on yonder ſpot, which " you will render for ever memorable by a glo- " rious victory. Here you may end your la- " bours, and cloſe a ſcene of fifty years (*b*) by " one great, one glorious day. Let your coun- " try ſee, and let the commonwealth bear wit- " neſs, if the conqueſt of Britain has been a " lingering work; if the ſeeds of rebellion have " not been cruſhed, that we at leaſt have done " our duty."

XXXV. During this harangue, whilſt Agricola was ſtill addreſſing the men, a more than common ardour glowed on every countenance. As ſoon as the general ended, the field rung with ſhouts of applauſe. Impatient for the onſet, the ſoldiers graſped their arms. Agricola reſtrained their violence, till he formed his order of battle. The auxiliary infantry (*a*), in number about eight thouſand, occupied the centre. The wings conſiſted of three thouſand horſe. The legions were ſtationed in the rear, at the head of the entrenchments, as a body of reſerve to ſupport the ranks, if neceſſary, but otherwiſe to remain inactive, that a victory, obtained without the effuſion of Roman blood, might be of higher value.

The Caledonians kept poſſeſſion of the riſing grounds, extending their ranks as wide as poſſible, to preſent a formidable ſhow of battle. Their firſt line was ranged on the plain, the reſt in a gradual aſcent on the acclivity of the hill. The intermediate ſpace between both armies was filled with the charioteers (*b*) and cavalry of the Britons, ruſhing to and fro in wild career, and traverſing the plain with noiſe and tumult. The enemy being greatly ſuperior in number, there

there was reaſon to apprehend that the Romans might be attacked both in front and flank at the ſame time. To prevent that miſchief, Agricola ordered his ranks to form a wider range. Some of the officers ſaw that the lines were weakened into length, and, therefore, adviſed that the legions ſhould be brought forward into the field of action. But the general was not of a temper to be eaſily diſſuaded from his purpoſe. Fluſhed with hope, and firm in the hour of danger, he immediately diſmounted, and, diſmiſſing his horſe, took his ſtand at the head of the colours.

XXXVI. The battle began, and at firſt was maintained at a diſtance. The Britons neither wanted ſkill nor reſolution. With their long ſwords, and targets (*a*) of ſmall dimenſions, they had the addreſs to elude the miſſive weapons of the Romans, and at the ſame time to diſcharge a thick volley of their own. To bring the conflict to a ſpeedy deciſion, Agricola ordered three Batavian and two Tungrian cohorts (*b*) to charge the enemy ſword in hand. To this mode of attack thoſe troops had been long accuſtomed, but to the Britons it was every way diſadvantageous. Their ſmall targets afforded no protection, and their unwieldy ſwords, not ſharpened to a point (*c*), could do but little execution in a cloſe engagement. The Batavians ruſhed to the attack with impetuous fury; they redoubled their blows, and with the boſſes of their ſhields bruiſed the enemy in the face, and, having overpowered all reſiſtance on the plain, began to force their way up the aſcent of the hill in regular order of battle. Incited by their example, the other cohorts advanced with a ſpirit of emulation, and cut their way with terrible ſlaughter. Eager in purſuit of victory, they preſſed forward with determined fury, leaving behind them numbers

numbers wounded, but not ſlain, and others not ſo much as hurt.

The Roman cavalry, in the mean time, was forced to give ground (*d*). The Caledonians, in their armed chariots, ruſhed at full ſpeed into the thick of the battle, where the infantry were engaged. Their firſt impreſſion ſtruck a general terror, but their career was ſoon checked by the inequalities of the ground, and the cloſe embodied ranks of the Romans. Nothing could leſs reſemble an engagement of the cavalry. Pent up in narrow places, the Barbarians crowded upon each other, and were driven or dragged along by their own horſes. A ſcene of confuſion followed. Chariots without a guide, and horſes without a rider, broke from the ranks in wild diſorder, and flying every way, as fear and conſternation urged, they overwhelmed their own files, and trampled down all who came in their way.

XXXVII. Meanwhile the Britons, who had hitherto kept their poſt on the hills, looking down with contempt on the ſcanty numbers of the Roman army, began to quit their ſtation. Deſcending ſlowly, they hoped, by wheeling round the field of battle, to attack the victors in the rear. To counteract their deſign, Agricola ordered four ſquadrons of horſe, which he had kept as a body of reſerve, to advance to the charge. The Britons poured down with impetuoſity, and retired with equal precipitation. At the ſame time, the cavalry, by the directions of the general, wheeled round from the wings, and fell with great ſlaughter on the rear of the enemy, who now perceived that their own ſtratagem was turned againſt themſelves.

The field preſented a dreadful ſpectacle of carnage and deſtruction. The Britons fled; the Romans

Romans purſued; they wounded, gaſhed, and mangled the runaways; they ſeized their priſoners, and, to be ready for others, butchered them on the ſpot (*a*). Deſpair and horror appeared in various ſhapes: in one part of the field the Caledonians, ſword in hand, fled in crowds from a handful of Romans; in other places, without a weapon left, they faced every danger, and ruſhed on certain death. Swords and bucklers, mangled limbs and dead bodies, covered the plain. The field was red with blood. The vanquiſhed Britons had their moments of returning courage, and gave proofs of virtue and of brave deſpair. They fled to the woods, and, rallying their ſcattered numbers, ſurrounded ſuch of the Romans as purſued with too much eagerneſs.

Agricola was every where preſent. He ſaw the danger, and, if he had not in the inſtant taken due precaution, the victorious army would have had reaſon to repent of too much confidence in ſucceſs. The light-armed cohorts had orders to inveſt the woods. Where the thickets were too cloſe for the horſe to enter, the men diſmounted to explore the paſſes, and where the woods gave an opening, the reſt of the cavalry ruſhed in, and ſcoured the country. The Britons, ſeeing that the purſuit was conducted in compact and regular order, diſperſed a ſecond time, not in collected bodies, but in conſternation, flying different ways to remote lurking places, ſolicitous only for their perſonal ſafety, and no longer willing to wait for their fellow-ſoldiers. Night coming on, the Romans, weary of ſlaughter, deſiſted from the purſuit. Ten thouſand of the Caledonians fell in this engagement: on the part of the Romans, the number of ſlain did not exceed three hundred and forty, among whom was Aulus Atticus (*b*), the præfect of a cohort. His own youthful

youthful ardour, and the ſpirit of a high-mettled horſe, carried him with too much impetuoſity into the thickeſt of the enemy's ranks.

XXXVIII. The Roman army, elate with ſucceſs, and enriched with plunder, paſſed the night in exultation. The Britons, on the other hand, wandered about, uncertain which way to turn, helpleſs and diſconſolate. The mingled cries of men and women filled the air with lamentations. Some aſſiſted to carry off the wounded; others called for the aſſiſtance of ſuch as eſcaped unhurt; numbers abandoned their habitations, or, in their phrenzy, ſet them on fire. They fled to obſcure retreats, and, in the moment of choice, deſerted them; they held conſultations, and, having inflamed their hopes, changed their minds in deſpair; they beheld the pledges of tender affection, and burſt into tears; they viewed them again, and grew fierce with reſentment. It is a fact well authenticated, that ſome laid violent hands upon their wives and children (*a*), determined with ſavage compaſſion to end their miſery.

The following day diſplayed to view the nature and importance of the victory. A deep and melancholy ſilence all around; the hills deſerted; houſes at a diſtance involved in ſmoke and fire, and not a mortal diſcovered by the ſcouts; the whole a vaſt and dreary ſolitude. Agricola was at length informed by thoſe who were ſent out to explore the country, that no trace of the enemy was any where to be ſeen, and no attempt made in any quarter to muſter their forces. Upon this intelligence, as the ſummer was far advanced, and to continue the war, or extend its operations in that ſeaſon of the year, was impracticable, he reſolved to cloſe the campaign, and march his army into the country of the Horeſtians

reſtians (*b*). That people ſubmitted to the conqueror, and delivered hoſtages for their fidelity. Orders were now iſſued to the commander of the fleet to make a coaſting voyage round the iſland (*c*). For this expedition a ſufficient equipment was made, and the terror of the Roman name had already gone before them. Agricola, in the mean time, led his army into winter-quarters, proceeding at the head of the cavalry and infantry by ſlow marches, with intent, that, by ſeeming to linger in the enemy's country, he might impreſs with terror a people who had but lately ſubmitted to his arms. The fleet, after a proſperous voyage, arrived at the Trutulenſian harbour (*d*), and, ſailing thence along the eaſtern coaſt, returned with glory to its former ſtation.

XXXIX. The account of theſe tranſactions, ſent to Rome by Agricola, was plain and ſimple, without any decoration of language to heighten the narrative. Domitian received it in the true ſpirit of his character, with a ſmile on his countenance, and malignity at his heart. The mock-parade of his own German triumph (*a*), in which the ſlaves, whom he had purchaſed, walked with diſhevelled hair, in the dreſs and manner of captives taken in war, came freſh into his mind. He felt the reproach and ridicule which that frolic occaſioned, and the tranſition was painful to a real victory, attended with a total overthrow of the enemy, and the applauſe of all ranks of men. He now began to fear that the name of a private citizen might overſhadow the imperial title. That reflection planted thorns in his breaſt. The eloquence of the forum was in vain ſuppreſſed; in vain the talents of men and every liberal art were put under an abſolute prohibition, if a ſubject was to rob the prince of

all military glory. Superior excellence in every other kind might be endured; but renown in arms belonged to the emperor, as a branch of his prerogative.

By these and such like reflections that restless spirit was distracted. He retired to brood in private over his discontent. His solitude was known to be dangerous. To be alone and innocent was no part of his character. Weary of his retreat (*b*) and his own wounded spirit, he at last resolved to nourish resentment in sullen silence, till the tide of popularity, which attended the general, should ebb away, and the affection of the army had time to cool. Agricola was still in Britain, and had the command of the army and the province.

XL. DOMITIAN, in the mean time, caused a decree to pass the senate, by which triumphal ornaments (*a*), the honour of a statue crowned with laurel, and all other marks of distinction, usually substituted in the place of a real triumph, were granted to Agricola. The language of compliment was freely lavished on this occasion. The emperor had also the art to circulate a report, that the province of Syria, at that time vacant by the death of Atilius Rufus, an officer of consular rank, was intended for Agricola, in order to do him honour by an appointment always given to men of the highest eminence. It is added as a fact, at that time currently believed, that a commission was actually made out, and sent by a favourite freedman, who was much in the emperor's confidence, to be delivered to Agricola, in case the messenger found him still possessed of his authority in Britain. But the freedman, we are told, met him on his passage in the narrow straits (*b*), and without so much as an interview returned to Rome. For the truth of this

this anecdote I do not pretend to vouch: it was imagined, perhaps, as a ſtroke of character, that marked the genius of Domitian. However that may be, Agricola reſigned the command, and delivered to his ſucceſſor (*c*) a quiet and well-ordered government.

Leſt his arrival at Rome ſhould draw together too great a concourſe, he concealed his approach from his friends, and entered the city privately in the dead of night. With the ſame ſecrecy, and in the night alſo, he went, as commanded, to preſent himſelf to the emperor. Domitian received him with a cold ſalute, and, without uttering a word, left the conqueror of Britain to mix with the ſervile creatures of the court.

The fame of a great military character is always ſure to give umbrage to the lazy and inactive. But to ſoften prejudices, Agricola reſolved to ſhade the luſtre of his name in the mild retreat of humble virtues. With this view, he reſigned himſelf to the calm enjoyments of a domeſtic life. Plain in his apparel (*d*), eaſy of acceſs, and never attended by more than one or two friends, he was remarkable for nothing but the ſimplicity of his appearance; inſomuch, that they, who knew no criterion of merit but external ſhow and grandeur, as often as they ſaw Agricola, were ſtill to ſeek for the great and illuſtrious character. His modeſty was art, which a few only could underſtand.

XLI. After his recal from Britain, he was frequently accuſed before Domitian, and as often acquitted, unheard, and without his knowledge. The ground of thoſe clandeſtine proceedings was neither a crime againſt the ſtate, nor even an injury done to any individual. His danger roſe from a different ſource; from the heart of a prince, who felt an inward antipathy

to every virtue; from the real glory of the man, and from the praiſes beſtowed upon him by thoſe worſt of enemies, the dealers in panegyric (*a*).

The fact was, in the diſtreſs of public affairs, which ſoon after followed, the name of Agricola could not be ſuffered to remain in obſcurity. By the raſhneſs or inactivity of the commanders in chief, the armies of the empire were loſt (*b*) in Mæſia, Dacia, Germany, and Pannonia. Every day brought an account of ſome new misfortune; forts beſieged and taken; garriſons ſtormed, and whole cohorts with their commanding officers made priſoners of war. Amidſt theſe diſaſters the ſtruggle was not to ſecure the banks of a river (*c*), nor to defend the frontier: the very poſſeſſion of the provinces, and the winter-quarters of the legions were fiercely diſputed. In times like thoſe, when calamity followed calamity, and every ſucceſſive year was marked by the defeat and ſlaughter of armies, the voice of the people called aloud for Agricola to be employed in the public ſervice. The vigour of his conduct, his firmneſs in danger, and his known experience were the general topics, in oppoſition to the cowardice and inſufficiency of other commanders. By remonſtrances of the ſame tendency, it is certain, that the ears of Domitian were often wounded. Amongſt his freedmen, thoſe who had the intereſt of their maſter at heart, made a fair repreſentation, while others urged the ſame arguments, not with honeſt motives, but with an inſidious deſign to exaſperate the mind of a tyrant fatally bent on miſchief. In this manner Agricola, by his own talents and the treacherous arts of pernicious men, was every day in danger of riſing to the precipice of glory.

XLII. The year was now at hand, in which Agricola was to have by lot the proconſulſhip (*a*) of Aſia or of Africa; but the death of Civica (*b*), who had been lately murdered in his government, gave at once a warning to Agricola, and a precedent to Domitian. At this point of time, the ſpies of the court thought proper to pay their viſits to Agricola. The deſign of thoſe pretended friends was to diſcover, whether the government of a province would be acceptable. They contented themſelves, in their firſt approaches, with ſuggeſting to him the value of tranquillity in a private ſtation, and then obligingly undertook, by their intereſt at court, to obtain permiſſion for him to decline the office. At length the maſk fell off: by adding menaces to their inſidious advice, they gained their point, and hurried him away to the preſence of the emperor. Domitian knew the part he had to act; with a concerted countenance, and an air of diſtant pride, he heard Agricola's apology, and complied with his requeſt, conſcious of his own treachery, yet receiving thanks for it without a bluſh (*c*). The proconſular ſalary (*d*), which had been uſually granted in like caſes, was withheld upon this occaſion; perhaps, in reſentment becauſe it was not ſolicited, or the better reaſon might be, that the prince might not ſeem to gain by compromiſe, what he had a right to command.

To hate whom we have injured (*e*) is a propenſity of the human mind: in Domitian it was a rooted principle. Prone by nature to ſudden acts of rage, if at any time he had the policy to diſguiſe his anger, it was only ſmothered (*f*), to break out with fiercer rage. And yet that implacable temper was diſarmed by the moderation and wiſdom of Agricola, who

was

was not in that claſs of patriots, who conceive, that by a contumacious ſpirit they ſhew their zeal for liberty, and think they gain immortal glory, when by raſhneſs they have provoked their fate. By his example the man of heroic fortitude may be informed, that even in the worſt of times, and under the moſt deſpotic prince, it is poſſible to be great and good with moderation. He may further learn, that a well managed ſubmiſſion, ſupported by talents and induſtry, may riſe as high in the public eſteem, as many of thoſe who have courted danger, and, without any real advantage to their country, died the victims of pride and vain ambition.

XLIII. The death of Agricola was felt by his family with the deepeſt ſorrow, by his friends with tender concern, and even by foreigners (*a*), and ſuch as had no knowledge of his perſon, with univerſal regret. During his illneſs, the common people, and that claſs of men who care little about public events, were conſtantly at his door, with anxiety making their enquiries. In the forum, and all circular meetings, he was the ſubject of converſation. When he breathed his laſt, no man was ſo hardened as to rejoice at the news. He died lamented, and not ſoon forgotten. What added to the public affliction, was a report (*b*) that ſo valuable a life was ended by a doſe of poiſon. No proof of the fact appearing, I leave the ſtory to ſhift for itſelf. Thus much is certain; during his illneſs, inſtead of formal meſſages, according to the uſual practice of courts, the freedmen moſt in favour, and the principal phyſicians of the emperor, were aſſiduous in their viſits. Was this the ſolicitude of friendſhip? or, were theſe men the ſpies of ſtate?

On

On the day that closed his life, while he was yet in the agony of death, the quickest intelligence of every symptom was conveyed to Domitian by messengers in waiting for the purpose. That so much industry was exerted to hasten news, which the emperor did not wish to hear, no man believed. As soon as the event was known, Domitian put on an air of sorrow, and even affected to be touched with real regret. The object of his hatred was now no more, and joy was a passion which he could more easily disguise than the fears that distracted him. The will of the deceased gave him entire satisfaction: he was named joint heir with Agricola's excellent wife, and his most dutiful daughter, and this the tyrant considered as a voluntary mark of the testator's love and esteem. A mind like his, debauched and blinded by continued flattery, could not perceive, that by a good father none but an evil prince is ever called to a share in the succession.

XLIV. Agricola was born on the ides of June, in the third consulship of Caligula; he died on the tenth before the calends of September, during the consulship of Collega and Priscus, in the fifty-sixth year of his age (*a*). As to his person, about which in future times there may be some curiosity, he was of that make and stature, which may be said to be graceful, not majestic. His countenance had not that commanding air which strikes with awe: a sweetness of expression was the prevailing character. You would have been easily convinced that he was a good man, and you would have been willing to believe him a great one.

Though he was snatched away in the vigour of life, yet if we consider the space his glory filled in the eyes of mankind, he may be said to have

have died full of years. Poſſeſſing all the beſt enjoyments, that ſpring from virtue, and from virtue only; adorned with every dignity, which either the conſular rank or triumphal honours could beſtow; what further advantage could he derive from fortune? Immoderate riches he never deſired, content with an honourable independance. His wife and daughter left in a ſtate of ſecurity, his honours blooming round him, his fame unblemiſhed, his relations flouriſhing, and every tie of friendſhip preſerved to the laſt, he may be conſidered as ſupremely happy, that he did not live to ſee the tempeſtuous times that ſoon after followed. It is indeed true, that to have reached the preſent auſpicious æra, and to have ſeen Trajan (*b*) in poſſeſſion of the imperial dignity, would have been the happy conſummation of his wiſhes. To that effect we have often heard him, with a kind of prophetic ſpirit, expreſs his ſentiments; but to counterbalance his untimely end, it is at leaſt ſome conſolation, that he eſcaped that black and horrible period, in which Domitian no longer broke out in ſudden fits and ſtarts of cruelty, but, throwing off all reſtraint, proceeded in one continued courſe of unrelenting fury, as if determined to cruſh the commonwealth at a blow (*c*).

XLV. Agricola did not live to ſee the ſenate-houſe (*a*) inveſted by an armed force; the members of that auguſt aſſembly ſurrounded by the prætorian bands; men of conſular rank deſtroyed in one promiſcuous carnage, and a number of illuſtrious women condemned to exile, or obliged to fly their country. Carus Metius, that deteſted informer, had as yet gained but a ſingle victory (*b*). The ſanguinary voice of Meſſalinus was heard in the Albanian citadel only (*c*); and even Maſſa Bebius (*d*) was at that time

time labouring under a proſecution. In a ſhort time after, with our own hands (*e*) we dragged Helvidius to a dungeon; our eyes beheld the diſtreſs and melancholy ſeparation of Mauricus and Ruſticus (*f*); we were ſtained with the innocent blood of Senecio (*g*). Even Nero had the grace to turn away his eyes from the horrors of his reign. He commanded deeds of cruelty, but never was a ſpectator of the ſcene. Under Domitian, it was our wretched lot to behold the tyrant, and to be ſeen by him; while he kept a regiſter of our ſighs and groans. With that fiery viſage (*h*), of a dye ſo red, that the bluſh of guilt could never colour his cheek, he marked the pale languid countenance of the unhappy victims, who ſhuddered at his frown.

With you, Agricola, we may now congratulate: you are bleſſed, not only, becauſe your life was a career of glory, but becauſe you were releaſed, when it was happineſs to die. From thoſe, who attended your laſt moments, it is well known, that you met your fate with calm ſerenity; willing, as far as it depended on the laſt act of your life, that the prince ſhould appear to be innocent. To your daughter and myſelf you left a load of affliction. We have loſt a parent, and, in our diſtreſs, it is now an addition to our heartfelt ſorrows, that we had it not in our power to watch the bed of ſickneſs, to ſooth the langour of declining nature, to gaze upon you with earneſt affection, to ſee the expiring glance, and receive your laſt embrace. Your dying words would have been ever dear to us; your commands we ſhould have treaſured up, and graved them on our hearts. This ſad comfort we have loſt, and the wound, for that reaſon, pierces deeper. Divided from you by a long abſence, we had loſt you (*i*) four years before.

Every

Every tender office, we are well convinced, thou beſt of parents! was duly performed by a moſt affectionate wife; but fewer tears bedewed your cold remains, and, in the parting moment, your eyes looked up for other objects, but they looked in vain, and cloſed for ever.

XLVI. If in another world there is a pious manſion for the bleſſed (*a*); if, as the wiſeſt men have thought, the ſoul is not extinguiſhed with the body; may you enjoy a ſtate of eternal felicity! From that ſtation behold your diſconſolate family; exalt our minds from fond regret and unavailing grief to the contemplation of your virtues. Thoſe we muſt not lament; it were impiety to ſully them with a tear. To cheriſh their memory, to embalm them with our praiſes, and, if our frail condition will permit, to emulate your bright example (*b*), will be the trueſt mark of our reſpect, the beſt tribute your family can offer. Your wife will thus preſerve the memory of the beſt of huſbands, and thus your daughter will prove her filial piety. By dwelling conſtantly on your words and actions, they will have an illuſtrious character before their eyes, and, not content with the bare image of your mortal frame, they will have, what is more valuable, the form and features of your mind. I do not mean by this to cenſure the cuſtom of preſerving in braſs or marble (*c*) the ſhape and ſtature of eminent men; but buſts and ſtatues, like their originals, are frail and periſhable. The ſoul is formed of finer elements, and its inward form is not to be expreſſed by the hand of an artiſt with unconſcious matter: our manners and our morals may in ſome degree trace the reſemblance. All of Agricola, that gained our love, and raiſed our admiration, ſtill ſubſiſts, and will ever ſubſiſt, preſerved in the minds of men, the regiſter

regiſter of ages, and the records of fame. Others, who figured on the ſtage of life, and were the worthies of a former day, will ſink, for want of a faithful hiſtorian (*d*), into the common lot of oblivion, inglorious, and unremembered; whereas Agricola, delineated with truth, and fairly conſigned to poſterity (*e*), will ſurvive himſelf, and triumph over the injuries of time.

THE END.

A

DIALOGUE

CONCERNING

ORATORY,

OR THE

CAUSES OF CORRUPT ELOQUENCE.

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the time of the republic. XXXV. *The defects and vices in the new system of Education.* In this part of the dialogue, the sequel of Messala's discourse is lost, with the whole of what was said by Secundus, and the beginning of Maternus: the supplement goes on from this place, distinguished by inverted commas, and the sections marked with numerical figures. 1. *Messala describes the presumption of the young advocates on their first appearance at the bar; their want of legal knowledge, and the absurd habits which they contracted in the schools of the rhetoricians.* 2. *Eloquence totally ruined by the preceptors. Messala concludes with desiring Secundus and Maternus to assign the reasons which have occurred to them.* 4. *Secundus gives his opinion. The change of government produced a new mode of eloquence. The orators under the emperors endeavoured to be ingenious rather than natural. Seneca the first who introduced a false taste, which still prevailed in the reign of Vespasian.* 8. *Licinius Largus taught the advocates of his time the disgraceful art of hiring applaudors by profession. This was the bane of all true oratory, and, for that reason, Maternus was right in renouncing the forum altogether.* 10. *Maternus acknowledges that he was disgusted by the shameful practices that prevailed at the bar, and therefore resolved to devote the rest of his time to poetry and the muses.* 11. *An apology for the rhetoricians. The praise of Quintilian. True eloquence died with Cicero.* 13. *The loss of liberty was the ruin of genuine oratory. Demosthenes flourished under a free government.* The original goes on from this place to the end of the dialogue. XXXVI. *Eloquence flourishes most in times of public tumult. The crimes of turbulent citizens supply the orator with his best materials.* XXXVII. *In the time of the republic, oratorical*

talents were neceſſary qualifications, and without them no man was deemed worthy of being advanced to the magiſtracy. XXXVIII. *The Roman orators were not confined in point of time; they might extend their ſpeeches to what length they thought proper, and could even adjourn. Pompey abridged the liberty of ſpeech, and limited the time.* XXXIX. *The very dreſs of the advocates under the emperors was prejudicial to eloquence.* XL. *True eloquence ſprings from the vices of men, and never was known to exiſt under a calm and ſettled government.* XLI. *Eloquence changes with the times. Every age has its own peculiar advantages, and invidious compariſons are unneceſſary.* XLII. *Concluſion of the dialogue.*

The time of this dialogue was the ſixth of Veſpaſian's reign.

Year of Rome.	of Chriſt.	Conſuls.
828	75	*Veſpaſian, 6th time; Titus his ſon, 4th time.*

A

DIALOGUE

CONCERNING

ORATORY,

OR

THE CAUSES OF CORRUPT ELOQUENCE.

I. YOU have often enquired of me, my good friend, Juſtus Fabius (*a*), how, and from what cauſes it has proceeded, that while ancient times diſplay a race of great and ſplendid orators, the preſent age, diſpirited, and without any claim to the praiſe of eloquence, has ſcarcely retained the name of an orator. By that appellation we now diſtinguiſh none but thoſe who flouriſhed in a former period. To the eminent of the preſent day, we give the title of ſpeakers, pleaders, advocates, patrons, in ſhort, every thing but orators.

The enquiry is in its nature delicate; tending, if we are not able to contend with antiquity, to impeach our genius, and, if we are not willing, to arraign our judgment. An anſwer to ſo nice a queſtion is more than I ſhould venture to undertake, were I to rely altogether upon myſelf: but it happens, that I am able to ſtate the ſentiments of men, diſtinguiſhed by their eloquence, ſuch as it is in modern times; having, in the early part of my life, been preſent at their converſation on the very ſubject now before us. What I have to offer, will not be the reſult of my own thinking: it is the work of memory only; a mere recital of what fell from the moſt celebrated orators of their time: a ſet of men, who thought with ſubtilty, and expreſſed themſelves with energy and preciſion; each, in his turn, aſſigning different, but probable cauſes, at times inſiſting on the ſame, and, in the courſe of the debate, maintaining his own proper character, and the peculiar caſt of his mind. What they ſaid upon the occaſion, I ſhall relate, as nearly as may be, in the ſtyle and manner of the ſeveral ſpeakers, obſerving always the regular courſe and order of the controverſy. For a controverſy it certainly was, where the ſpeakers of the preſent age did not want an advocate, who ſupported their cauſe with zeal, and, after treating antiquity with ſufficient freedom, and even deriſion, aſſigned the palm of eloquence to the practiſers of modern times.

II. CURIATIUS MATERNUS (*a*) gave a public reading of his tragedy of Cato. On the following day a report prevailed, that the piece had given umbrage to the men in power. The author, it was ſaid, had laboured to diſplay his favourite character in the brighteſt colours; anxious for the fame

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of his hero, but regardleſs of himſelf. This ſoon became the topic of public converſation. Maternus received a viſit from Marcus Aper (*b*) and Julius Secundus (*c*), both men of genius, and the firſt ornaments of the forum. I was, at that time, a conſtant attendant on thoſe eminent men. I heard them, not only in their ſcenes of public buſineſs, but, feeling an inclination to the ſame ſtudies, I followed them with all the ardour of youthful emulation. I was admitted to their private parties; I heard their debates, and the amuſement of their ſocial hours: I treaſured up their wit, and their ſentiments on the various topics which they diſcuſſed in converſation. Reſpected as they were, it muſt, however, be acknowledged, that they did not eſcape the malignity of criticiſm. It was objected to Secundus, that he had no command of words, no flow of language; and to Aper, that he was indebted for his fame, not to art or literature, but to the natural powers of a vigorous underſtanding. The truth is, the ſtyle of the former was remarkable for its purity; conciſe, yet free and copious; and the latter was ſufficiently verſed in all branches of general erudition. It might be ſaid of him, that he deſpiſed literature, not that he wanted it. He thought, perhaps, that, by ſcorning the aid of letters, and by drawing altogether from his own fund, his fame would ſtand on a more ſolid foundation.

III. We went together to pay our viſit to Maternus. Upon entering his ſtudy, we found him with the tragedy, which he had read on the preceding day, lying before him. Secundus began: And are you then ſo little affected by the cenſure of malignant critics, as to perſiſt in cheriſhing a tragedy which has given ſo much offence? Perhaps you are reviſing the piece, and, after

after retrenching certain paſſages, intend to ſend your Cato into the world, I will not ſay improved, but certainly leſs obnoxious. There lies the poem, ſaid Maternus; you may, if you think proper, peruſe it with all its imperfections on its head. If Cato has omitted any thing, Thyeſtes (*a*), at my next reading, ſhall atone for all deficiencies. I have formed the fable of a tragedy on that ſubject; the plan is warm in my imagination, and, that I may give my whole time to it, I now am eager to diſpatch an edition of Cato. Marcus Aper interpoſed: and are you, indeed, ſo enamoured of your dramatic muſe, as to renounce your oratorical character, and the honours of your profeſſion, in order to ſacrifice your time, I think it was lately to Medea, and now to Thyeſtes? Your friends, in the mean time, expect your patronage; the colonies (*b*) invoke your aid, and the municipal cities invite you to the bar. And ſurely the weight of ſo many cauſes may be deemed ſufficient, without this new ſolicitude impoſed upon you by Domitius (*c*) or Cato. And muſt you thus waſte all your time, amuſing yourſelf for ever with ſcenes of fictitious diſtreſs, and ſtill labouring to add to the fables of Greece the incidents and characters of the Roman ſtory?

IV. The ſharpneſs of that reproof, replied Maternus, would, perhaps, have diſconcerted me, if, by frequent repetition, it had not loſt its ſting. To differ on this ſubject is grown familiar to us both. Poetry, it ſeems, is to expect no quarter: you wage an inceſſant war againſt the followers of that pleaſing art; and I, who am charged with deſerting my clients, have yet every day the cauſe of poetry to defend. But we have now a fair opportunity, and I embrace it with pleaſure, ſince we have a perſon preſent,

preſent, of ability to decide between us; a judge, who will either lay me under an injunction to write no more verſes, or, as I rather hope, encourage me, by his authority, to renonnce for ever the dry employment of forenſic cauſes (in which I have had my ſhare of drudgery), that I may, for the future, be at leiſure to cultivate the ſublime and ſecret eloquence of the tragic muſe.

V. SECUNDUS deſired to be heard: I am aware, he ſaid, that Aper may refuſe me as an umpire. Before he ſtates his objections, let me follow the example of all fair and upright judges, who, in particular caſes, when they feel a partiality for one of the contending parties, deſire to be excuſed from hearing the cauſe. The friendſhip and habitual intercourſe, which I have ever cultivated with Saleius Baſſus (*a*), that excellent man, and no leſs excellent poet, are well known: and let me add, if poetry is to be arraigned, I know no client that can offer ſuch handſome bribes.

My buſineſs, replied Aper, is not with Saleius Baſſus: let him, and all of his deſcription, who, without talents for the bar, devote their time to the muſes, purſue their favourite amuſement without interruption. But Maternus muſt not think to eſcape in the crowd. I ſingle him out from the reſt, and, ſince we are now before a competent judge, I call upon him to anſwer, how it happens, that a man of his talents, formed by nature to reach the heights of manly eloquence, can think of renouncing a profeſſion, which not only ſerves to multiply friendſhips, but to ſupport them with reputation; a profeſſion, which enables us to conciliate the eſteem of foreign nations, and (if we regard our own intereſt) lays open the road to the firſt honours of the ſtate; a profeſſion, which, beſides the celebrity

brity that it gives within the walls of Rome, ſpreads an illuſtrious name throughout the wide extent of the empire.

If it be wiſdom to make the ornament and happineſs of life the end and aim of our actions, what can be more adviſable than to embrace an art, by which we are enabled to protect our friends; to defend the cauſe of ſtrangers; and ſuccour the diſtreſſed? Nor is this all: the eminent orator is a terror to his enemies: envy and malice tremble, while they hate him. Secure in his own ſtrength, he knows how to ward off every danger. His own genius is his protection; a perpetual guard, that watches him; an invincible power, that ſhields him from his enemies.

In the calm ſeaſons of life, the true uſe of oratory conſiſts in the aſſiſtance which it affords to our fellow citizens. We then behold the triumph of eloquence. Have we reaſon to be alarmed for ourſelves? The ſword and breaſtplate are not a better defence in the heat of battle. It is at once a buckler to cover yourſelf (*b*), and a weapon to brandiſh againſt your enemy. Armed with this, you may appear with courage before the tribunals of juſtice, in the ſenate, and even in the preſence of the prince. We lately ſaw (*c*) Eprius Marcellus arraigned before the fathers: in that moment, when the minds of the whole aſſembly were inflamed againſt him, what had he to oppoſe to the vehemence of his enemies, but that nervous eloquence, which he poſſeſſed in ſo eminent a degree? Collected in himſelf, and looking terror to his enemies, he was more than a match for Helvidius Priſcus; a man, no doubt, of conſummate wiſdom, but without that flow of eloquence, which ſprings from practice, and that ſkill in argument, which is neceſſary to manage a public debate. Such

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is the advantage of oratory: to enlarge upon it were ſuperfluous. My friend Maternus will not diſpute the point.

VI. I PROCEED to the pleaſure ariſing from the exerciſe of eloquence; a pleaſure which does not conſiſt in the mere ſenſation of the moment, but is felt through life, repeated every day, and almoſt every hour. For let me aſk, to a man of an ingenuous and liberal mind, who knows the reliſh of elegant enjoyments, what can yield ſuch a true delight, as a concourſe of the moſt reſpectable characters crowding to his levee? How muſt it enhance his pleaſure, when he reflects, that the viſit is not paid to him, becauſe he is rich, and wants an heir (*a*), or is in poſſeſſion of a public office, but purely as a compliment to ſuperior talents, a mark of reſpect to a great and accompliſhed orator! The rich, who have no iſſue, and the men in high rank and power, are his followers. Though he is ſtill young, and probably deſtitute of fortune, all concur in paying their court, to ſolicit his patronage for themſelves, or to recommend their friends to his protection. In the moſt ſplendid fortune, in all the dignity and pride of power is there any thing that can equal the heartfelt ſatisfaction of the able advocate, when he ſees the moſt illuſtrious citizens, men reſpected for their years, and flouriſhing in the opinion of the public, yet paying their court to a riſing genius, and, in the midſt of wealth and grandeur, fairly owning, that they ſtill want ſomething ſuperior to all their poſſeſſions?

What ſhall be ſaid of the attendants, that follow the young orator from the bar, and watch his motions to his own houſe? With what importance does he appear to the multitude! In the courts of judicature, with what veneration!

When he riſes to ſpeak, the audience is huſhed in mute attention; every eye is fixed on him alone; the crowd preſſes round him; he is maſter of their paſſions; they are ſwayed, impelled, directed, as he thinks proper. Theſe are the fruits of eloquence, well known to all, and palpable to every common obſerver.

There are other pleaſures more refined and ſecret, felt only by the initiated. When the orator, upon ſome great occaſion, comes with a well-digeſted ſpeech, conſcious of his matter, and animated by his ſubject, his breaſt expands, and heaves with emotions unfelt before. In his joy there is a dignity ſuited to the weight and energy of the compoſition which he has prepared. Does he riſe to hazard himſelf (*b*) in a ſudden debate? He is alarmed for himſelf, but in that very alarm there is a mingle of pleaſure, which predominates, till diſtreſs itſelf becomes delightful. The mind exults in the prompt exertion of its powers, and even glories in its raſhneſs. The productions of genius, and thoſe of the field have this reſemblance: many things are ſown, and brought to maturity with toil and care: yet that, which grows from the wild vigour of nature, has the moſt grateful flavour.

VII. As to myſelf, if I may allude to my own feelings, the day on which I put on the manly gown (*a*), and even the days that followed, when, as a new man at Rome, born in a city that did not favour my pretenſions (*b*), I roſe in ſucceſſion to the offices of quæſtor, tribune and prætor; thoſe days, I ſay, did not awaken in my breaſt ſuch exalted rapture, as when, in the courſe of my profeſſion, I was called forth, with ſuch talents as have fallen to my ſhare, to defend the accuſed; to argue a queſtion of law before the centumviri (*c*), or, in the preſence of the

the prince, to plead for his freedmen and the procurators appointed by himſelf. Upon thoſe occaſions I towered above all places of profit, and all preferment; I looked down on the dignities of tribune, prætor, and conſul; I felt within myſelf, what neither the favour of the great, nor the wills and codicils (*d*) of the rich can give, a vigour of mind, an inward energy, that ſprings from no external cauſe, but is altogether your own.

Look through the circle of the fine arts, ſurvey the whole compaſs of the ſciences, and tell me in what branch can the profeſſors acquire a name to vie with the celebrity of a great and powerful orator. His fame does not depend on the opinion of thinking men, who attend to buſineſs and watch the adminiſtration of affairs; he is applauded by the youth of Rome, at leaſt by ſuch of them as are of a well turned diſpoſition, and hope to riſe by honourable means. The eminent orator is the model which every parent recommends to his children. Even the common people (*e*) ſtand at gaze, as he paſſes by; they pronounce his name with pleaſure, and point at him as the object of their admiration. The provinces reſound with his praiſe. The ſtrangers, who arrive from all parts, have heard of his genius; they wiſh to behold the man, and their curioſity is never at reſt, till they have ſeen his perſon, and peruſed his countenance.

VIII. I HAVE already mentioned Eprius Marcellus and Criſpus Vibius (*a*). I cite living examples, in preference to the names of a former day. Thoſe two illuſtrious perſons, I will be bold to ſay, are not leſs known in the remoteſt parts of the empire, than they are at Capua, or Vercellæ (*b*), where we are told, they both were born. And to what is their extenſive fame to be

be attributed? Not ſurely to their immoderate riches. Three hundred thouſand ſeſterces cannot give the fame of genius. Their eloquence may be ſaid to have built up their fortunes; and, indeed, ſuch is the power, I might ſay the inſpiration, of eloquence, that in every age we have examples of men, who by their talents raiſed themſelves to the ſummit of their ambition.

But I wave all former inſtances. The two, whom I have mentioned, are not recorded in hiſtory, nor are we to glean an imperfect knowledge of them from tradition; they are every day before our eyes. They have riſen from low beginnings; but the more abject their origin, and the more ſordid the poverty, in which they ſet out, their ſucceſs riſes in proportion, and affords a ſtriking proof of what I have advanced; ſince it is apparent, that, without birth or fortune, neither of them recommended by his moral character, and one of them deformed in his perſon, they have, notwithſtanding all diſadvantages, made themſelves, for a ſeries of years, the firſt men in the ſtate. They began their career in the forum, and, as long as they choſe to purſue that road of ambition, they flouriſhed in the higheſt reputation; they are now at the head of the commonwealth, the miniſters, who direct and govern, and ſo high in favour with the prince, that the reſpect, with which he receives them, is little ſhort of veneration.

The truth is, Veſpaſian (*c*), now in the vale of years, but always open to the voice of truth, clearly ſees that the reſt of his favourites derive all their luſtre from the favours, which his munificence has beſtowed; but with Marcellus and Criſpus the caſe is different: they carry into the cabinet, what no prince can give, and no ſubject

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can receive. Compared with the advantages which thoſe men poſſeſs, what are family-pictures, ſtatues, buſts and titles of honour? They are things of a periſhable nature, yet not without their value. Marcellus and Vibius know how to eſtimate them, as they do wealth and honours; and wealth and honours are advantages againſt which you will eaſily find men that declaim, but none that in their hearts deſpiſe them. Hence it is, that in the houſes of all who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the career of eloquence, we ſee titles, ſtatues, and ſplendid ornaments, the reward of talents, and, at all times, the decorations of the great and powerful orator.

IX. But to come to the point, from which we ſtarted: poetry, to which my friend Maternus wiſhes to dedicate all his time, has none of theſe advantages. It confers no dignity, nor does it ſerve any uſeful purpoſe. It is attended with ſome pleaſure, but it is the pleaſure of a moment, ſpringing from vain applauſe, and bringing with it no ſolid advantage. What I have ſaid, and am going to add, may probably, my good friend Maternus, be unwelcome to your ear; and yet I muſt take the liberty to aſk you, if Agamemnon (*a*) or Jaſon ſpeaks in your piece with dignity of language, what uſeful conſequence follows from it? What client has been defended? Who confeſſes an obligation? In that whole audience who returns to his own houſe with a grateful heart? Our friend Saleius Baſſus (*b*) is, beyond all queſtion, a poet of eminence, or, to uſe a warmer expreſſion, he has the god within him: but who attends his levee? who ſeeks his patronage, or follows in his train? Should he himſelf, or his intimate friend, or his near relation, happen to be involved in a troubleſome litigation,

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what courſe do you imagine he would take? He would, moſt probably, apply to his friend, Secundus; or to you, Maternus; not, becauſe you are a poet; nor yet to obtain a copy of verſes from you; of thoſe he has a ſufficient ſtock at home, elegant, it muſt be owned, and exquiſite in the kind. But after all his labour and waſte of genius, what is his reward?

When in the courſe of a year, after toiling day and night, he has brought a ſingle poem to perfection, he is obliged to ſolicit his friends, and exert his intereſt, in order to bring together an audience (*c*), ſo obliging as to hear a recital of the piece. Nor can this be done without expence. A room muſt be hired, a ſtage or pulpit muſt be erected; benches muſt be arranged, and hand-bills diſtributed throughout the city. What if the reading ſucceeds to the height of his wiſhes? Paſs but a day or two, and the whole harveſt of praiſe and admiration fades away, like a flower that withers in its bloom, and never ripens into fruit. By the event, however flattering, he gains no friend; he obtains no patronage, nor does a ſingle perſon go away impreſſed with the idea of an obligation conferred upon him. The poet has been heard with applauſe; he has been received with acclamations; and he has enjoyed a ſhort-lived tranſport.

Baſſus, it is true, has lately received from Veſpaſian a preſent of fifty thouſand ſeſterces. Upon that occaſion, we all admired the generoſity of the prince. To deſerve ſo diſtinguiſhed a proof of the ſovereign's eſteem is, no doubt, highly honourable; but is it not ſtill more honourable, if your circumſtances require it, to ſerve yourſelf by your talents? to cultivate your genius for your own advantage? and to owe every thing to your own induſtry, indebted to the

the bounty of no man whatever? It muſt not be forgotten, that the poet, who would produce any thing truly excellent in the kind, muſt bid farewel to the converſation of his friends; he muſt renounce, not only the pleaſures of Rome, but alſo the duties of ſocial life; he muſt retire from the world; as the poets ſay, "to groves and "grottos every muſe's ſon." In other words, he muſt condemn himſelf to a ſequeſtered life in the gloom of ſolitude.

X. The love of fame, it ſeems, is the paſſion that inſpires the poet's genius: but even in this reſpect, is he ſo amply paid as to rival in any degree the profeſſors of the perſuaſive arts? As to the indifferent poet, men leave him to his own (*a*) mediocrity: the real genius moves in a narrow circle. Let there be a reading of a poem by the ableſt maſter of his art: will the fame of his performance reach all quarters, I will not ſay of the empire, but of Rome only? Among the ſtrangers, who arrive from Spain, from Aſia, or from Gaul, who enquires (*b*) after Saleius Baſſus? Should it happen that there is one, who thinks of him; his curioſity is ſoon ſatisfied; he paſſes on, content with a tranſient view, as if he had ſeen a picture or a ſtatue.

In what I have advanced, let me not be miſunderſtood: I do not mean to deter ſuch as are not bleſſed with the gift of oratory, from the practice of their favourite art, if it ſerves to fill up their time, and gain a degree of reputation. I am an admirer of eloquence (*c*); I hold it venerable, and even ſacred, in all its ſhapes, and every mode of compoſition. The pathetic of tragedy, of which you, Maternus, are ſo great a maſter; the majeſty of the epic, the gaiety of the lyric muſe; the wanton elegy, the keen iambic, and the pointed epigram; all have their charms; and

eloquence,

eloquence, whatever may be the ſubject which ſhe chooſes to adorn, is with me the ſublimeſt faculty, the queen of all the arts and ſciences. But this, Maternus, is no apology for you, whoſe conduct is ſo extraordinary, that, though formed by nature to reach the ſummit of perfection (*d*), you chooſe to wander into devious paths, and reſt contented with an humble ſtation in the vale beneath.

Were you a native of Greece, where to exhibit in the public games (*e*) is an honourable employment; and if the gods had beſtowed upon you the force and ſinew of the athletic Nicoſtratus (*f*); do you imagine that I could look tamely on, and ſee that amazing vigour waſte itſelf away nothing better than the frivolous art of darting the javelin, or throwing the coit? To drop the alluſion, I ſummon you from the theatre and public recitals to the buſineſs of the forum, to the tribunals of juſtice, to ſcenes of real contention, to a conflict worthy of your abilities. You cannot decline the challenge, for you are left without an excuſe. You cannot ſay, with a number of others, that the profeſſion of poetry is ſafer than that of the public orator, ſince you have ventured, in a tragedy written with ſpirit, to diſplay the ardour of a bold and towering genius.

And for whom have you provoked ſo many enemies? Not for a friend; that would have had alleviating circumſtances. You undertook the cauſe of Cato, and for him committed yourſelf. You cannot plead, by way of apology, the duty of an advocate, or the ſudden effuſion of ſentiment in the heat and hurry of an unpremeditated ſpeech. Your plan was ſettled: a great hiſtorical perſonage was your hero, and you choſe him, becauſe what falls from ſo diſtinguiſhed a character,

racter, falls from a height that gives it additional weight. I am aware of your anſwer: you will ſay, it was that very circumſtance that enſured the ſucceſs of your piece; the ſentiments were received with ſympathetic rapture; the room echoed with applauſe, and hence your fame throughout the city of Rome. Then let us hear no more of your love of quiet and a ſtate of ſecurity: you have voluntarily courted danger. For myſelf, I am content with controverſies of a private nature, and the incidents of the preſent day. If, hurried beyond the bounds of prudence, I ſhould happen, on any occaſion, to grate the ears of men in power, the zeal of an advocate, in the ſervice of his client, will excuſe the honeſt freedom of ſpeech, and, perhaps, be deemed a proof of integrity.

XI. APER went through his argument, according to his cuſtom, with warmth and vehemence. He delivered the whole with a peremptory tone and an eager eye. As ſoon as he finiſhed, I am prepared, ſaid Maternus ſmiling, to exhibit a charge againſt the profeſſors of oratory, which may, perhaps, counterbalance the praiſe ſo laviſhly beſtowed upon them by my friend. In the courſe of what he ſaid, I was not ſurpriſed to ſee him going out of his way, to lay poor poetry proſtrate at his feet. He has, indeed, ſhewn ſome kindneſs to ſuch as are not bleſſed with oratorical talents. He has paſſed an act of indulgence in their favour, and they, it ſeems, are allowed to purſue their favourite ſtudies. For my part, I will not ſay, that I think myſelf wholly unqualified for the eloquence of the bar. It may be true, that I have ſome kind of talent for that profeſſion; but the tragic muſe affords ſuperior pleaſure. My firſt attempt was in the reign of Nero, in oppoſition

to the extravagant claims of the prince (*a*), and in defiance of the domineering ſpirit of Vatinius (*b*), that pernicious favourite, by whoſe coarſe buffoonery the muſes were every day diſgraced, I might ſay, moſt impiouſly prophaned. The portion of fame, whatever it be, that I have acquired ſince that time, is to be attributed, not to the ſpeeches which I made in the forum, but to the power of dramatic compoſition. I have, therefore, reſolved to take my leave of the bar for ever. The homage of viſitors, the train of attendants, and the multitude of clients, which glitter ſo much in the eyes of my friend, have no attraction for me. I regard them as I do pictures, and buſts, and ſtatues of braſs; things, which indeed are in my family, but they came unlooked for, without my ſtir, or ſo much as a wiſh on my part. In my humble ſtation, I find that innocence is a better ſhield than oratory. For the laſt I ſhall have no occaſion, unleſs I find it neceſſary, on ſome future occaſion, to exert myſelf in the juſt defence of an injured friend.

XII. But woods, and groves (*a*), and ſolitary places have not eſcaped the ſatyrical vein of my friend. To me they afford ſenſations of a pure delight. It is there I enjoy the pleaſures of a poetic imagination; and among thoſe pleaſures it is not the leaſt, that they are purſued far from the noiſe and buſtle of the world, without a client to beſiege my doors, and not a criminal to diſtreſs me with the tears of affliction. Free from thoſe diſtractions, the poet retires to ſcenes of ſolitude, where peace and innocence reſide. In thoſe haunts of contemplation, he has his pleaſing viſions. He treads on conſecrated ground. It was there that eloquence firſt grew up, and there ſhe reared her temple. In thoſe retreats

retreats ſhe firſt adorned herſelf with thoſe graces, which have made mankind enamoured of her charms; and there ſhe filled the hearts of the wiſe and good with joy and inſpiration. Oracles firſt ſpoke in woods and ſacred groves. As to the ſpecies of oratory, which practiſes for lucre, or with views of ambition; that ſanguinary eloquence (*b*) now ſo much in vogue; it is of modern growth, the offspring of corrupt manners, and degenerate times; or rather, as my friend Aper expreſſed it, it is a WEAPON in the hands of ill-deſigning men.

The early and more happy period of the world, or, as we poets call it, the golden age, was the æra of true eloquence. Crimes and orators were then unknown. Poetry ſpoke in harmonious numbers, not to varniſh evil deeds, but to praiſe the virtuous, and celebrate the friends of human kind. This was the poet's office. The inſpired train enjoyed the higheſt honours; they held commerce with the gods; they partook of the ambroſial feaſt; they were at once the meſſengers and interpreters of the ſupreme command. They ranked on earth with legiſlators, heroes, and demigods. In that bright aſſembly we find no orator, no pleader of cauſes. We read of Orpheus (*c*), of Linus, and if we chooſe to mount ſtill higher, we can add the name of Apollo himſelf. This may ſeem a flight of fancy. Aper will treat it as mere romance, and fabulous hiſtory: but he will not deny, that the veneration paid to Homer, with the conſent of poſterity, is at leaſt equal to the honours obtained by Demoſthenes. He muſt likewiſe admit, that the fame of Sophocles and Euripides is not confined within narrower limits than that of Lyſias (*d*), or Hyperides. To come home to our own country, there are at this day more who diſ-

pute the excellence of Cicero than of Virgil. Among the orations of Aſinius or Meſſala (*e*), is there one that can vie with the Medea of Ovid, or the Thyeſtes of Varius?

XIII. If we now conſider the happy condition of the true poet, and that eaſy commerce in which he paſſes his time, need we fear to compare his ſituation with that of the boaſted orator, who leads a life of anxiety, oppreſſed by buſineſs and overwhelmed with care? But it is ſaid, his contention, his toil and danger are ſteps to the conſulſhip. How much more eligible was the ſoft retreat in which Virgil (*a*) paſſed his days, loved by the prince, and honoured by the people? To prove this, the letters of Auguſtus are ſtill extant; and the people, we know, hearing in the theatre ſome verſes of that divine poet (*b*), when he himſelf was preſent, roſe in a body, and paid him every mark of homage, with a degree of veneration nothing ſhort of what they uſually offered to the emperor.

Even in our own times, will any man ſay, that Secundus Pomponius (*c*), in point of dignity or extent of fame, is inferior to Domitius Afer (*d*)? But Vibius and Marcellus have been cited as bright examples: and yet, in their elevation what is there to be coveted? Is it to be deemed an advantage to thoſe miniſters, that they are feared by numbers, and live in fear themſelves? They are courted for their favours, and the men, who obtain their ſuit, retire with ingratitude, pleaſed with their ſucceſs, yet hating to be obliged. Can we ſuppoſe that the man is happy, who by his artifices has wriggled himſelf into favour, and yet is never thought by his maſter ſufficiently pliant, nor by the people ſufficiently free? And after all, what is the amount of all his boaſted power? The emperor's

peror's freedmen have enjoyed the ſame. But as Virgil ſweetly ſings, me let the ſacred muſes lead to their ſoft retreats, their living fountains, and melodious groves, where I may dwell remote from care, maſter of myſelf, and under no neceſſity of doing every day what my heart condemns. Let me no more be ſeen at the wrangling bar, a pale and anxious candidate for precarious fame; and let neither the tumult of viſitors crowding to my levee, nor the eager haſte of officious freedmen, diſturb my morning reſt. Let me live free from ſolicitude, a ſtranger to the art of promiſing legacies (*e*), in order to buy the friendſhip of the great: and when nature ſhall give the ſignal to retire, may I poſſeſs no more than may be ſafely bequeathed to ſuch friends as I ſhall think proper. At my funeral let no token of ſorrow be ſeen, no pompous mockery of woe. Crown (*f*) me with chaplets; ſtrew flowers on my grave, and let my friends erect no vain memorial, to tell where my remains are lodged.

XIV. MATERNUS finiſhed with an air of enthuſiaſm, that ſeemed to lift him above himſelf. In that moment (*a*), Vipſtanius Meſſala entered the room. From the attention that appeared in every countenance, he concluded that ſome important buſineſs was the ſubject of debate. I am afraid, ſaid he, that I break in upon you at an unſeaſonable time? You have ſome ſecret to diſcuſs, or, perhaps, a conſultation upon your hands. Far from it, replied Secundus; I wiſh you had come ſooner. You would have had the pleaſure of hearing an eloquent diſcourſe from our friend Aper, who has been endeavouring to perſuade Maternus to dedicate all his time to the buſineſs of the bar, and to give the whole man to his profeſſion. The anſwer of Maternus would

would have entertained you: he has been defending his art, and but this moment closed an animated speech, that held more of the poetical than the oratorical character.

I should have been happy, replied Messala, to have heard both my friends. It is, however, some compensation for the loss, that I find men of their talents, instead of giving all their time to the little subtleties and knotty points of the forum, extending their views to liberal science, and those questions of taste, which enlarge the mind, and furnish it with ideas drawn from the treasures of polite erudition. Enquiries of this kind afford improvement not only to those who enter into the discussion, but to all who have the happiness of being present at the debate. It is in consequence of this refined and elegant way of thinking, that you, Secundus, have gained so much applause, by the life of Julius Asiaticus (*b*), with which you have lately obliged the world. From that specimen we are taught to expect other productions of equal beauty from the same hand. In like manner, I see with pleasure, that our friend Aper loves to enliven his imagination with topics of controversy, and still lays out his leisure in questions of the schools (*c*), not indeed, in imitation of the ancient orators, but in the true taste of our modern rhetoricians.

XV. I AM not surprised, returned Aper, at that stroke of raillery. It is not enough for Messala, that the oratory of ancient times engrosses all his admiration; he must have his fling at the moderns. Our talents and our studies are sure to feel the sallies of his pleasantry (*a*). I have often heard you, my friend Messala, in the same humour. According to you, the present age has not a single orator to boast of, though

though your own eloquence, and that of your brother, are ſufficient to refute the charge. But you aſſert roundly, and maintain your propoſition with an air of confidence. You know how high you ſtand, and while in your general cenſure of the age you include yourſelf, the ſmalleſt tincture of malignity cannot be ſuppoſed to mingle in a deciſion, which denies to your own genius, what by common conſent is allowed to be your undoubted right.

I have as yet, replied Meſſala, ſeen no reaſon to make me retract my opinion; nor do I believe, that my two friends here, or even you yourſelf (though you ſometimes affect a different tone), can ſeriouſly maintain the oppoſite doctrine. The decline of eloquence is too apparent. The cauſes, which have contributed to it, merit a ſerious enquiry. I ſhall be obliged to you, my friends, for a fair ſolution of the queſtion. I have often reflected upon the ſubject; but what ſeems to others a full anſwer, with me ſerves only to increaſe the difficulty. What has happened at Rome, I perceive to have been the caſe in Greece. The modern orators, of that country, ſuch as the prieſt (*b*) Nicetes, and others, who, like him, ſtun the ſchools of Mytelene and Epheſus (*c*), are fallen to a greater diſtance from Æſchynes and Demoſthenes, than Afer and Africanus (*d*), or you, my friends, from Tully or Aſinius Pollio.

XVI. You have ſtarted an important queſtion, ſaid Secundus, and who ſo able to diſcuſs it as yourſelf? Your talents are equal to the difficulty; your acquiſitions in literature are known to be extenſive, and you have conſidered the ſubject. I have no objection, replied Meſſala: my ideas are at your ſervice, upon condition, that, as I go on, you will aſſiſt me with the lights of your

your underſtanding. For two of us I can venture to anſwer, ſaid Maternus: whatever you omit, or rather, what you leave for us to glean after you, we ſhall be ready to add to your obſervations. As to our friend Aper, you have told us, that he is apt to differ from you upon this point, and even now I ſee him preparing to give battle. He will not tamely bear to ſee us joined in a league in favour of antiquity.

Certainly not, replied Aper, nor ſhall the preſent age, unheard and undefended, be degraded by a conſpiracy. But before you ſound to arms, I wiſh to know, who are to be reckoned among the ancients? At what point of time (*a*) do you fix your favourite æra? When you talk to me of antiquity, I carry my view to the firſt ages of the world, and ſee before me Ulyſſes and Neſtor, who flouriſhed little leſs than (*b*) thirteen hundred years ago. Your retroſpect, it ſeems, goes no farther back than to Demoſthenes and Hyperides; men, who lived in the times of Philip and Alexander, and indeed ſurvived them both. The interval, between Demoſthenes and the preſent age, is little more than (*c*) four hundred years; a ſpace of time, which, with a view to the duration of human life, may be called long; but, as a portion of that immenſe tract of time which includes the different ages of the world, it ſhrinks into nothing, and ſeems to be but yeſterday. For if it be true, as Cicero ſays in his treatiſe called Hortenſius, that the great and genuine year is that period in which the heavenly bodies revolve to the ſtation, from which their courſe began; and if this grand rotation of the whole planetary ſyſtem requires no leſs than twelve thouſand nine hundred and fifty-four years (*d*) of our computation, it follows that Demoſthenes, your boaſted ancient, becomes a modern,

modern, and even our contemporary; nay, that he lived in the ſame year with ourſelves; I had almoſt ſaid, in the ſame month (*e*).

XVII. But I am in haſte to paſs to our Roman orators. Menenius Agrippa (*a*) may fairly be deemed an ancient. I take it, however, that he is not the perſon, whom you mean to oppoſe to the profeſſors of modern eloquence. The æra, which you have in view, is that of (*b*) Cicero and Cæſar; of Cælius (*c*) and Calvus; of Brutus (*d*), Aſinius and Meſſala. Thoſe are the men, whom you place in the front of your line; but for what reaſon they are to be claſſed with the ancients, and not, as I think they ought to be, with the moderns, I am ſtill to learn. To begin with Cicero: he, according to the account of Tiro, his freedman, was put to death on the ſeventh of the ides of December, during the conſulſhip of Hirtius and Panſa (*e*), who, we know, were both cut off in the courſe of the year, and left their office vacant for Auguſtus and Quintus Pedius. Count from that time ſix-and-fifty years, to complete the reign of Auguſtus; three-and-twenty for that of Tiberius, four for Caligula, eight-and-twenty for Claudius and Nero, one for Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, and finally ſix from the acceſſion of Veſpaſian to the preſent year of our felicity, we ſhall have from the death of Cicero a period of about (*f*) one hundred and twenty years, which may be conſidered as the term allotted to the life of man. I myſelf remember to have ſeen in Britain a ſoldier far advanced in years, who averred that he carried arms in that very battle (*g*), in which his countrymen fought to drive Julius Cæſar back from their coaſt. If this veteran, who ſerved in the defence of his country againſt Cæſar's invaſion, had been brought a priſoner to Rome;

Rome; or, if his own inclination, or any accident in the courſe of things had conducted him thither, he might have heard, not only Cæſar and Cicero, but even ourſelves in ſome of our public ſpeeches.

In the late public largeſs (*h*) you will acknowledge that you ſaw ſeveral old men, who aſſured us that they had received more than once, the like diſtribution from Auguſtus himſelf. If that be ſo, might not thoſe perſons have heard Corvinus (*i*) and Aſinius? Corvinus, we all know, lived through half the reign of Auguſtus, and Aſinius almoſt to the end. How then are we to aſcertain the juſt boundaries of a century? They are not to be varied at pleaſure, ſo as to place ſome orators in a remote, and others in a recent period, while people are ſtill living, who heard them all, and may, therefore, with good reaſon rank them as contemporaries.

XVIII. From what I have ſaid, I aſſume it as a clear poſition, that the glory, whatever it be, that accrued to the age in which thoſe orators lived, is not confined to that particular period, but reaches down to the preſent time, and may more properly be ſaid to belong to us, than to Servius Galba (*a*), or to Carbo (*b*), and others of the ſame or more ancient date. Of that whole race of orators, I may freely ſay, that their manner cannot now be reliſhed. Their language is coarſe, and their compoſition rough, uncouth, and harſh; and yet your Calvus (*c*), your Cælius, and even your favourite Cicero condeſcended to follow that inelegant ſtyle. It were to be wiſhed that they had not thought ſuch models worthy of imitation. I mean to ſpeak my mind with freedom; but before I proceed, it will be neceſſary to make a preliminary obſervation, and it is this: eloquence has no ſettled form: at different times it puts on a new garb, and changes

with the manners and the taſte of the age. Thus we find, that Gracchus (*d*), compared with the elder Cato (*e*), is full and copious; but, in his turn, yields to Craſſus (*f*), an orator more poliſhed, more correct, and florid. Cicero riſes ſuperior to both; more animated, more harmonious and ſublime. He is followed by Corvinus (*g*), who has all the ſofter graces; a ſweet flexibility in his ſtyle, and a curious felicity in the choice of his words. Which was the greateſt orator, is not the queſtion.

The uſe I make of theſe examples, is to prove that eloquence does not always wear the ſame dreſs, but, even among your celebrated ancients, has its different modes of perſuaſion. And be it remembered, that what differs is not always the worſt. Yet ſuch is the malignity of the human mind, that what has the ſanction of antiquity is always admired; what is preſent, is ſure to be condemned. Can we doubt that there have been critics, who were better pleaſed with Appius Cæcus (*h*) than with Cato? Cicero had his adverſaries (*i*): it was objected to him, that his ſtyle was redundant, turgid, never compreſſed, void of preciſion, and deſtitute of Attic elegance. We all have read the letters of Calvus and Brutus to your famous orator. In the courſe of that correſpondence we plainly ſee, what was Cicero's opinion of thoſe eminent men. The former (*k*) appeared to him cold and languid; the latter (*l*), disjointed, looſe, and negligent. On the other hand, we know what they thought in return: Calvus did not heſitate to ſay, that Cicero was diffuſe, luxuriant to a fault, and florid without vigour. Brutus, in expreſs terms, ſays, he was weakened into length, and wanted ſinew. If you aſk my opinion, each of them had reaſon on his ſide. I ſhall hereafter examine them ſeparately.

parately. My buſineſs, at preſent, is not in the detail: I ſpeak of them in general terms.

XIX. The æra of ancient oratory is, I think, extended by its admirers no farther back than the time of Caſſius Severus (*a*). He, they tell us, was the firſt, who dared to deviate from the plain and ſimple ſtyle of his predeceſſors. I admit the fact. He departed from the eſtabliſhed forms, not through want of genius, or of learning, but guided by his own good ſenſe and ſuperior judgment. He ſaw that the public ear was formed to a new manner; and eloquence, he knew, was to find new approaches to the heart. In the early periods of the commonwealth, a rough unpoliſhed people might well be ſatisfied with the tedious length of unſkilful ſpeeches, at a time, when to make an harangue, that took up the whole day, was the orator's higheſt praiſe. The prolix exordium, waſting itſelf in feeble preparation; the circumſtantial narration, the oſtentatious diviſion of the argument under different heads, and the thouſand proofs and logical diſtinctions, with whatever elſe is contained in the dry precepts of Hermagoras (*b*) and Apollodorus, were in that rude period received with univerſal applauſe. To finiſh the picture, if your ancient orator could glean a little from the common places of philoſophy, and interweave a few ſhreds and patches with the thread of his diſcourſe, he was extolled to the very ſkies. Nor can this be matter of wonder: the maxims of the ſchools had not been divulged; they came with an air of novelty. Even among the orators themſelves, there were but few, who had any tincture of philoſophy. Nor had they learned the rules of art from the teachers of eloquence.

In the preſent age, the tenets of philoſophy and the precepts of rhetoric are no longer a ſecret,

cret. The loweſt of our popular aſſemblies are now, I will not ſay fully inſtructed, but certainly acquainted with the elements of literature. The orator, by conſequence, finds himſelf obliged to ſeek new avenues to the heart, and new graces to embelliſh his diſcourſe, that he may not offend faſtidious ears, eſpecially before a tribunal, where the judge is no longer bound by precedent, but determines according to his will and pleaſure; not, as formerly, obſerving the meaſure of time allowed to the advocate, but taking upon himſelf to preſcribe the limits. Nor is this all: the judge, at preſent, will not condeſcend to wait till the orator, in his own way, opens his caſe; but, of his own authority, reminds him of the point in queſtion, and, if he wanders, calls him back from his digreſſion, not without a hint, that the court wiſhes to diſpatch.

XX. Who, at this time, would bear to hear an advocate introducing himſelf with a tedious preface about the infirmities of his conſtitution? Yet that is the thread-bare exordium of Corvinus. We have five books againſt Verres (*a*). Who can endure that vaſt redundance? Who can liſten to thoſe endleſs arguments upon points of form, and cavilling exceptions (*b*), which we find in the orations of the ſame celebrated advocate for Marcus Tullius (*c*) and Aulus Cæcina? Our modern judges are able to anticipate the argument. Their quickneſs goes before the ſpeaker. If not ſtruck with the vivacity of his manner, the elegance of his ſentiments, and the glowing colours of his deſcriptions, they ſoon grow weary of the flat inſipid diſcourſe. Even in the loweſt claſs of life, there is now a reliſh for rich and ſplendid ornament. Their taſte requires the gay, the florid, and the brilliant. The unpoliſhed

unpoliſhed ſtyle of antiquity would now ſucceed as ill at the bar, as the modern actor, who ſhould attempt to copy the deportment of Roſcius (*d*) or Ambivius Turpio. Even the young men who are preparing for the career of eloquence, and, for that purpoſe, attend the forum and the tribunals of juſtice, have now a nice diſcriminating taſte. They expect to have their imaginations pleaſed. They wiſh to carry home ſome bright illuſtration, ſome ſplendid paſſage, that deſerves to be remembered. What has ſtruck their fancy, they communicate to each other; and in their letters, the glittering thought, given with ſententious brevity; the poetical alluſion, that enlivened the diſcourſe, and the dazzling imagery, are ſure to be tranſmitted to their reſpective colonies and provinces. The ornaments of poetic diction are now required, not, indeed, copied from the rude obſolete ſtyle of Accius (*e*) and Pacuvius, but embelliſhed with the graces of Horace, Virgil, and (*f*) Lucan. The public judgment has raiſed a demand for harmonious periods, and, in compliance with the taſte of the age, our orators grow every day more poliſhed and adorned. Let it not be ſaid, that what we gain in refinement, we loſe in ſtrength. Are the temples, raiſed by our modern architects, of a weaker ſtructure, becauſe they are not formed with ſhapeleſs ſtones, but with the magnificence of poliſhed marble, and decorations of the richeſt gilding?

XXI. Shall I fairly own to you the impreſſion which I generally receive from the ancient orators? They make me laugh, or lull me to ſleep. Nor is this the caſe only, when I read the orations of Canutus (*a*), Arrius, Furnius, Toranius and others of the ſame ſchool, or rather, the ſame infirmary (*b*); an emaciated

ſickly race of orators; without ſinew, colour, or proportion. But what ſhall be ſaid of your admired Calvus (*c*)? He, I think, has left no leſs than one and twenty volumes: in the whole collection, there is not more than one or two ſhort orations, that can pretend to perfection in the kind. Upon this point there is no difference of opinion. Who now reads his declamations againſt Aſitius or Druſus? His ſpeeches againſt Vatinius are in the hands of the curious, particularly the ſecond, which muſt be allowed to be a maſterpiece. The language is elegant; the ſentiments are ſtriking, and the ear is ſatisfied with the roundneſs of the periods. In this ſpecimen we ſee that he had an idea of juſt compoſition, but his genius was not equal to his judgment. The orations of Cælius, though upon the whole defective, are not without their beauties. Some paſſages are highly finiſhed. In thoſe we acknowledge the nice touches of modern elegance. In general, however, the coarſe expreſſion, the halting period, and the vulgarity of the ſentiments, have too much of the leaven of antiquity.

If Cælius (*d*) is ſtill admired, it is not, I believe, in any of thoſe parts that bear the mark of a rude illiterate age. With regard to Julius Cæſar (*e*), engaged as he was in projects of vaſt ambition, we may forgive him the want of that perfection which might, otherwiſe, be expected from ſo ſublime a genius. Brutus, in like manner, may be excuſed on account of his philoſophical ſpeculations. Both he and Cæſar, in their oratorical attempts, fell ſhort of themſelves. Their warmeſt admirers acknowledge the fact, nor is there an inſtance to the contrary, unleſs we except Cæſar's ſpeech for Decius the Samnite (*f*), and that of Brutus for king (*g*) Dejotarus.

Dejotarus. But are thoſe performances, and ſome others of the ſame lukewarm temper, to be received as works of genius? He, who admires thoſe productions, may be left to admire their verſes alſo. For verſes they both made, and ſent them into the world, I will not ſay, with more ſucceſs than Cicero, but certainly, more to their advantage; for their poetry had the good fortune to be little known.

Aſinius lived near our own times (*h*). He ſeems to have ſtudied in the old ſchool of Menenius and Appius. He compoſed tragedies as well as orations, but in a ſtyle ſo harſh and rugged, that one would think him the diſciple of Accius and Pacuvius. He miſtook the nature of eloquence, which may then be ſaid to have attained its true beauty, when the parts unite with ſmoothneſs, ſtrength and proportion. As in the human body the veins ſhould not ſwell too high, nor the bones and ſinews appear too prominent; but its form is then moſt graceful, when a pure and temperate blood gives animation (*i*) to the whole frame; when the muſcles have their proper play, and the colour of health is diffuſed over the ſeveral parts. I am not willing to diſturb the memory of Corvinus Meſſala (*k*). If he did not reach the graces of modern compoſition, the defect does not ſeem to have ſprung from choice. The vigour of his genius was not equal to his judgment.

XXII. I now proceed to Cicero, who, we find, had often upon his hands the very controverſy that engages us at preſent. It was the faſhion with his contemporaries to admire the ancients, while he, on the contrary, contended for the eloquence of his own time. Were I to mention the quality that placed him at the head

of

of his rivals, I ſhould ſay it was the ſolidity of his judgment. It was he that firſt ſhewed a taſte for poliſhed and graceful oratory. He was happy in his choice of words, and he had the art of giving weight and harmony to his compoſition. We find in many paſſages a warm imagination, and luminous ſentences. In his latter ſpeeches, he has lively ſallies of wit and fancy. Experience had then matured his judgment, and, after long practice, he found the true oratorical ſtyle. In his earlier productions we ſee the rough caſt of antiquity. The exordium is tedious; the narration is drawn into length; luxuriant paſſages are not retouched with care; he is not eaſily affected, and he rarely takes fire; his ſentiments are not always happily expreſſed (*a*), nor are the periods cloſed with energy. There is nothing ſo highly finiſhed, as to tempt you to avail yourſelf of a borrowed beauty. In ſhort, his ſpeeches are like a rude building, which is ſtrong and durable, but wants that grace and conſonance of parts which give ſymmetry and perfection to the whole.

In oratory, as in architecture, I require ornament as well as uſe. From the man of ample fortune, who undertakes to build, we expect elegance and proportion. It is not enough that his houſe will keep out the wind and the rain; it muſt ſtrike the eye, and preſent a pleaſing object. Nor will it ſuffice that the furniture may anſwer all domeſtic purpoſes; it ſhould be rich, faſhionable, elegant; it ſhould have gold and gems ſo curiouſly wrought, that they will bear examination, often viewed, and always admired. The common utenſils, which are either mean or ſordid, ſhould be carefully removed out of ſight. In like manner, the true orator ſhould avoid the trite and vulgar. Let him reject the

antiquated phraſe, and whatever is covered with the ruſt of time; let his ſentiments be expreſſed with ſpirit, not in careleſs, ill-conſtructed, languid periods, like a dull writer of annals; let him baniſh low ſcurrility, and, in ſhort, let him know how to diverſify his ſtyle, that he may not fatigue the ear with a monotony, ending for ever with the ſame unvaried cadence (*b*).

XXIII. I SHALL ſay nothing of the falſe wit, and inſipid play upon words, which we find in Cicero's orations. His pleaſant conceits about the *wheel of fortune* (*a*), and the arch raillery on the equivocal meaning of the word VERRES (*b*), do not merit a moment's attention. I omit the perpetual recurrence of the phraſe, ESSE VIDEATUR (*c*), which chimes in our ears at the cloſe of ſo many ſentences, ſounding big, but ſignifying nothing. Theſe are petty blemiſhes; I mention them with reluctance. I ſay nothing of other defects equally improper: and yet thoſe very defects are the delight of ſuch as affect to call themſelves ancient orators. I need not ſingle them out by name: the men are ſufficiently known; it is enough to allude, in general terms, to the whole claſs.

We all are ſenſible that there is a ſet of critics now exiſting, who prefer Lucilius (*d*) to Horace, and Lucretius (*e*) to Virgil; who deſpiſe the eloquence of Auſidius Baſſus (*f*) and Servilius Nonianus, and yet admire Varro and (*g*) Siſenna. By theſe pretenders to taſte, the works of our modern rhetoricians are thrown by with neglect, and even faſtidious diſdain; while thoſe of Calvus are held in the higheſt eſteem. We ſee theſe men proſing in their ancient ſtyle before the judges; but we ſee them left without an audience, deſerted by the people, and hardly endured by their clients. The truth is, their cold and ſpiritleſs manner has no attraction. They call it ſound oratory, but

but it is want of vigour; like that precarious ſtate of health which weak conſtitutions preſerve by abſtinence. What phyſician will pronounce that a ſtrong habit of body, which requires conſtant care and anxiety of mind? To ſay barely, that we are not ill, is ſurely not enough. True health conſiſts in vigour, a generous warmth, and a certain alacrity in the whole frame. He, who is only not indiſpoſed, is little diſtant from actual illneſs.

With you, my friends, the caſe is different: proceed, as you well can, and in fact, as you do, to adorn our age with all the grace and ſplendour of true oratory. It is with pleaſure, Meſſala, that I ſee you ſelecting for imitation the livelieſt models of the ancient ſchool. You too, Maternus, and you, my friend Secundus (*h*), you both poſſeſs the happy art of adding to weight of ſentiment all the dignity of language. To a copious invention you unite the judgment that knows how to diſtinguiſh the ſpecific qualities of different authors. The beauty of order is yours. When the occaſion demands it, you can expand and amplify with ſtrength and majeſty; and you know when to be conciſe with energy. Your periods flow with eaſe, and your compoſition has every grace of ſtyle and ſentiment. You command the paſſions with reſiſtleſs ſway, while in yourſelves you beget a temperance ſo truly dignified, that, though, perhaps, envy and the malignity of the times may be unwilling to proclaim your merit, poſterity will do you ample juſtice (*i*).

XXIV. As ſoon as Aper concluded, You ſee, ſaid Maternus, the zeal and ardour of our friend: in the cauſe of the moderns, what a torrent of eloquence! againſt the ancients, what a fund of invective! With great ſpirit, and a

vaſt compaſs of learning, he has employed againſt his maſters the arts, for which he is indebted to them. And yet all this vehemence muſt not deter you, Meſſala, from the performance of your promiſe. A formal defence of the ancients is by no means neceſſary. We do not preſume to vie with that illuſtrious race. We have been praiſed by Aper, but we know our inferiority. He himſelf is aware of it, though, in imitation of the ancient manner (*a*), he has thought proper, for the ſake of a philoſophical debate, to take the wrong ſide of the queſtion. In anſwer to his argument, we do not deſire you to expatiate in praiſe of the ancients: their fame wants no addition. What we requeſt is, an inveſtigation of the cauſes which have produced ſo rapid a decline from the flouriſhing ſtate of genuine eloquence. I call it rapid, ſince, according to Aper's own chronology, the period from the death of Cicero does not exceed one hundred and twenty years (*b*).

XXV. I AM willing, ſaid Meſſala, to purſue the plan which you have recommended. The queſtion, whether the men, who flouriſhed above one hundred years ago, are to be accounted ancients, has been ſtarted by my friend Aper, and, I believe, it is of the firſt impreſſion. But it is a mere diſpute about words. The diſcuſſion of it is of no moment, provided it be granted, whether we call them ancients, or our predeceſſors, or give them any other appellation, that the eloquence of thoſe times was ſuperior to that of the preſent age. When Aper tells us, that different periods of time have produced new modes of oratory, I ſee nothing to object; nor ſhall I deny, that in one and the ſame period the ſtyle and manner have greatly varied. But this I aſſume, that among the orators of

Greece, Demoſthenes holds the firſt rank, and after him (*a*) Æſchynes, Hyperides, Lyſias, and Lycurgus, in regular ſucceſſion. That age, by common conſent, is allowed to be the flouriſhing period of Attic eloquence.

In like manner, Cicero ſtands at the head of our Roman orators, while Calvus, Aſinius, and Cæſar, Cælius and Brutus follow him at a diſtance; all of them ſuperior, not only to every former age, but to the whole race that came after them. Nor is it material that they differ in the mode, ſince they all agree in the kind. Calvus is cloſe and nervous; Aſinius more open and harmonious; Cæſar is diſtinguiſhed (*b*) by the ſplendour of his diction; Cælius by a cauſtic ſeverity; and gravity is the characteriſtic of Brutus. Cicero is more luxuriant in amplification, and he has ſtrength and vehemence. They all, however, agree in this: their eloquence is manly, ſound, and vigorous. Examine their works, and you will ſee the energy of congenial minds, a family-likeneſs in their genius, however it may take a diſtinct colour from the ſpecific qualities of the men. True, they detracted from each other's merit. In their letters, which are ſtill extant, we find ſome ſtrokes of mutual hoſtility. But this littleneſs does not impeach their eloquence: their jealouſy was the infirmity of human nature. Calvus, Aſinius, and Cicero might have their fits of animoſity, and, no doubt, were liable to envy, malice, and other degrading paſſions: they were great orators, but they were men.

Brutus is the only one of the ſet, who may be thought ſuperior to petty contentions. He ſpoke his mind with freedom, and, I believe, without a tincture of malice. He did not envy Cæſar himſelf, and can it be imagined that he

envied

envied Cicero? As to Galba (*c*), Lælius, and others of a remote period, againſt whom we have heard Aper's declamation, I need not undertake their defence, ſince I am willing to acknowledge, that in their ſtyle and manner we perceive thoſe defects and blemiſhes which it is natural to expect, while art, as yet in its infancy, has made no advance towards perfection.

XXVI. After all, if the beſt form of eloquence muſt be abandoned, and ſome new-fangled ſtyle muſt grow into faſhion, give me the rapidity of Gracchus (*a*), or the more ſolemn manner of Craſſus (*b*), with all their imperfections, rather than the effeminate delicacy of (*c*) Mæcenas, or the tinkling cymbal (*d*) of Gallio. The moſt homely dreſs is preferable to gawdy colours and meretricious ornaments. The ſtyle in vogue at preſent, is an innovation againſt every thing juſt and natural: it is not even manly. The luxuriant phraſe, the inanity of tuneful periods, and the wanton levity of the whole compoſition, are fit for nothing but the hiſtrionic art, as if they were written for the ſtage. To the diſgrace of the age (however aſtoniſhing it may appear) it is the boaſt, the pride, the glory of our preſent orators, that their periods are muſical enough either for the dancer's heel (*e*), or the warbler's throat. Hence it is, that by a frequent, but prepoſterous, metaphor, the orator is ſaid to ſpeak in melodious cadence, and the dancer to move with expreſſion. In this view of things, even (*f*) Caſſius Severus (the only modern whom Aper has ventured to name), if we compare him with the race that followed, may be fairly pronounced a legitimate orator, though it muſt be acknowledged, that in what remains of his compoſition, he is clumſy without ſtrength, and violent without ſpirit.

ſpirit. He was the firſt that deviated from the great maſters of his art. He deſpiſed all method and regular arrangement; indelicate in his choice of words, he paid no regard to decency; eager to attack, he left himſelf unguarded; he brandiſhed his weapons without ſkill or addreſs; and, to ſpeak plainly, he wrangled, but did not argue. And yet, notwithſtanding theſe defects, he was, as I have already ſaid, ſuperior to all that came after him, whether we regard the variety of his learning, the urbanity of his wit, or the vigour of his mind. I expected that Aper, after naming this orator, would have drawn up the reſt of his forces in regular order. He has fallen, indeed, upon Aſinius, Cælius and Calvus; but where are his champions to enter the liſts with them? I imagined that he had a phalanx, in reſerve, and that we ſhould have ſeen them man by man giving battle to Cicero, Cæſar, and the reſt in ſucceſſion. He has ſingled out ſome of the ancients, but has brought none of his moderns into the field. He thought it enough to give them a good character in their abſence. In this, perhaps, he acted with prudence: he was afraid, if he ſelected a few, that the reſt of the tribe would take offence. For among the rhetoricians of the preſent day, is there one to be found, who does not, in his own opinion, tower above Cicero, though he has the modeſty to yield to Gabinianus (*g*)?

XXVII. What Aper has omitted, I intend to perform. I ſhall produce his moderns by name, to the end that, by placing the example before our eyes, we may be able, more diſtinctly, to trace the ſteps by which the vigour of ancient eloquence has fallen to decay. Maternus interrupted him. I wiſh, he ſaid, that you would come at once to the point: we claim your promiſe.

promiſe. The ſuperiority of the ancients is not in queſtion. We want no proof of it. Upon that point my opinion is decided. But the cauſes of our rapid decline from ancient excellence remain to be unfolded. We know that you have turned your thoughts to this ſubject, and we expected from you a calm diſquiſition, had not the violent attack which Aper made upon your favourite orators, roufed your ſpirit, and, perhaps, given you ſome offence. Far from it, replied Meſſala; he has given me no offence; nor muſt you, my friends, take umbrage, if at any time a word ſhould fall from me, not quite agreeable to your way of thinking. We are engaged in a free enquiry, and you know, that, in this kind of debate, the eſtabliſhed law allows every man to ſpeak his mind without reſerve. That is the law, replied Maternus; you may proceed in perfect ſecurity. When you ſpeak of the ancients, ſpeak of them with ancient freedom, which, I fear, is at a lower ebb than even the genius of thoſe eminent men.

XXVIII. Messala reſumed his diſcourſe: The cauſes of the decay of eloquence are by no means difficult to be traced. They are, I believe, well known to you, Maternus, and alſo to Secundus, not excepting my friend Aper. It ſeems, however, that I am now, at your requeſt, to unravel the buſineſs. But there is no myſtery in it. We know that eloquence, with the reſt of the polite arts, has loſt its former luſtre: and yet, it is not a dearth of men, or a decay of talents, that has produced this fatal effect. The true cauſes are, the diſſipation of our young men, the inattention of parents, the ignorance of thoſe who pretend to give inſtruction, and the total neglect of ancient diſcipline. The miſchief

chief began at Rome, it has over-run all Italy, and is now, with rapid ſtrides, ſpreading through the provinces. The effects, however, are more viſible at home, and, therefore, I ſhall confine myſelf to the reigning vices of the capital; vices that wither every virtue in the bud, and continue their baleful influence through every ſeaſon of life.

But before I enter on the ſubject, it will not be uſeleſs to look back to the ſyſtem of education that prevailed in former times, and to the ſtrict diſcipline of our anceſtors, in a point of ſo much moment as the formation of youth. In the times to which I now refer, the ſon of every family was the legitimate offſpring of a virtuous mother. The infant, as ſoon as born, was not conſigned to the mean dwelling of a hireling nurſe (*a*), but was reared and cheriſhed in the boſom of a tender parent. To regulate all houſehold affairs, and attend to her infant race, was, at that time, the glory of the female character. A matron, related to the family, and diſtinguiſhed by the purity of her life, was choſen to watch the progreſs of the tender mind. In her preſence not one indecent word was uttered; nothing was done againſt propriety and good manners. The hours of ſtudy and ſerious employment were ſettled by her direction; and not only ſo, but even the diverſions of the children were conducted with modeſt reſerve and ſanctity of manners. Thus it was that Cornelia (*b*), the mother of the Gracchi, ſuperintended the education of her illuſtrious iſſue. It was thus that Aurelia (*c*) trained up Julius Cæſar; and thus, Atia (*d*) formed the mind of Auguſtus. The conſequence of this regular diſcipline was, that the young mind grew up in innocence, unſtained by vice, unwarped by irregular paſſions,

and,

and, under that culture, received the ſeeds of ſcience. Whatever was the peculiar biaſs, whether to the military art, the ſtudy of the laws, or the profeſſion of eloquence, that engroſſed the whole attention, and the youth, thus directed, embraced the entire compaſs of one favourite ſcience.

XXIX. In the preſent age, what is our practice? The infant is committed to a Greek chambermaid, and a ſlave or two, choſen for the purpoſe, generally the worſt of the whole houſehold train; all utter ſtrangers to every liberal notion. In that worſhipful ſociety (*a*) the youth grows up, imbibing folly and vulgar error. Throughout the houſe, not one ſervant cares what he ſays or does (*b*) in the preſence of his young maſter: and indeed how ſhould it be otherwiſe? The parents themſelves are the firſt to give their children the worſt examples of vice and luxury. The ſtripling conſequently loſes all ſenſe of ſhame, and ſoon forgets the reſpect he owes to others as well as to himſelf. A paſſion for horſes, players and gladiators (*c*) ſeems to be the epidemic folly of the times. The child receives it in his mother's womb; he brings it with him into the world; and in a mind ſo poſſeſſed, what room for ſcience, or any generous purpoſe?

In our houſes, at our tables, ſports and interludes are the topics of converſation. Enter the places of academical lectures, and who talks of any other ſubject? The preceptors themſelves have caught the contagion. Nor can this be wondered at. To eſtabliſh a ſtrict and regular diſcipline, and to ſucceed by giving proofs of their genius, is not the plan of our modern rhetoricians. They pay their court to the great, and, by ſervile adulation, increaſe the number

of

of their pupils. Need I mention the manner of conveying the firſt elements of ſchool learning? No care is taken to give the ſtudent a taſte for the beſt authors (*d*); the page of hiſtory lies neglected; the ſtudy of men and manners is no part of their ſyſtem; and every branch of uſeful knowledge is left uncultivated. A preceptor is called in, and education is then thought to be in fair way. But I ſhall have occaſion hereafter to ſpeak more fully of that claſs of men, called rhetoricians. It will then be ſeen, at what period that profeſſion firſt made its appearance at Rome, and what reception it met with from our anceſtors.

XXX. Before I proceed, let us advert for a moment to the plan of ancient diſcipline. The unwearied diligence of the ancient orators, their habits of meditation, and their daily exerciſe in the whole circle of arts and ſciences, are amply diſplayed in the books which they have tranſmitted to us. The treatiſe of Cicero, intitled Brutus (*a*), is in all our hands. In that work, after commemorating the orators of a former day, he cloſes the account with the particulars of his own progreſs in ſcience, and the method he took in educating himſelf to the profeſſion of oratory. He ſtudied the civil law under (*b*) Mucius Scævola; he was inſtructed in the various ſyſtems of philoſophy, by Philo (*c*) of the academic ſchool, and by Diodorus the ſtoic; and though Rome, at that time, abounded with the beſt profeſſors, he made a voyage to Greece (*d*), and thence to Aſia, in order to enrich his mind with every branch of learning. Hence that ſtore of knowledge which appears in all his writings. Geometry, muſic, grammar, and every uſeful art were familiar to him. He embraced the whole ſcience of logic (*e*) and ethics. He ſtudied the operations of nature.

His

His diligence of enquiry opened to him the long chain of cauſes and effects, and, in ſhort, the whole ſyſtem of phiſiology was his own. From a mind thus repleniſhed, it is no wonder, my good friends, that we ſee in the compoſitions of that extraordinary man that affluence of ideas, and that prodigious flow of eloquence. In fact, it is not with oratory as with the other arts, which are confined to certain objects, and circumſcribed within their own peculiar limits. He alone deſerves the name of an orator, who can ſpeak in a copious ſtyle, with eaſe or dignity, as the ſubject requires; who can find language to decorate his argument; who through the paſſions can command the underſtanding; and, while he ſerves mankind, knows how to delight the judgment and the imagination of his audience.

XXXI. Such was, in ancient times, the idea of an orator. To form that illuſtrious character, it was not thought neceſſary to declaim in the ſchools of rhetoricians (*a*), or to make a vain parade in fictitious controverſies, which were not only void of all reality, but even of a ſhadow of probability. Our anceſtors purſued a different plan; they ſtored their minds with juſt ideas of moral good and evil; with the rules of right and wrong, and the fair and foul in human tranſactions. Theſe, on every controverted point, are the orator's province. In courts of law, juſt and unjuſt undergo his diſcuſſion; in political debate, between what is expedient and honourable, it is his to draw the line; and thoſe queſtions are ſo blended in their nature, that they enter into every cauſe. On ſuch important topics, who can hope to bring variety of matter, and to dignify that matter with ſtyle and ſentiment, if he has not, before hand, enlarged his mind with the knowledge of human nature? with the laws of moral

moral obligation; the deformity of vice, the beauty of virtue, and other points which do not immediately belong to the theory of ethics?

The orator, who has enriched his mind with theſe materials, may be truly ſaid to have acquired the powers of perſuaſion. He who knows the nature of indignation, will be able to kindle or allay that paſſion in the breaſt of the judge; and the advocate, who has conſidered the effect of compaſſion, and from what ſecret ſprings it flows, will beſt know how to ſoften the mind, and melt it into tenderneſs. It is by theſe ſecrets of his art that the orator gains his influence. Whether he has to do with the prejudiced, the angry, the envious, the melancholy, or the timid, he can bridle their various paſſions, and hold the reins in his own hand. According to the diſpoſition of his audience, he will know when to check the workings of the heart, and when to raiſe them to their full tumult of emotion.

Some critics are chiefly pleaſed with that cloſe mode of oratory, which in a laconic manner ſtates the facts, and forms an immediate concluſion: in that caſe, it is obvious how neceſſary it is to be a complete maſter of the rules of logic. Others delight in a more open, free, and copious ſtyle, where the arguments are drawn from topics of general knowledge: for this purpoſe, the peripatetic ſchool (*b*) will ſupply the orator with ample materials. The academic philoſophers (*c*) will inſpire him with warmth and energy; Plato will give the ſublime, and Xenophon that equal flow which charms us in that amiable writer. The rhetorical figure, which is called exclamation, ſo frequent with Epicurus (*d*) and Metrodorus, will add to a diſcourſe thoſe ſudden breaks of paſſion, which give motion, ſtrength, and vehemence.

It

It is not for the ſtoic ſchool, nor for their imaginary wiſe man, that I am laying down rules. I am forming an orator, whoſe buſineſs it is, not to adhere to one ſect, but to go the round of all the arts and ſciences. Accordingly we find, that the great maſters of ancient eloquence laid their foundation in a thorough ſtudy of the civil law, and to that fund they added grammar, muſic, and geometry. The fact is, in moſt of the cauſes that occur, perhaps in every cauſe, a due knowledge of the whole ſyſtem of juriſprudence is an indiſpenſable requiſite. There are likewiſe many ſubjects of litigation, in which an acquaintance with other ſciences is of the higheſt uſe.

XXXII. Am I to be told, that to gain ſome ſlight information on particular ſubjects, as occaſion may require, will ſufficiently anſwer the purpoſes of an orator? In anſwer to this, let it be obſerved, that the application of what we draw from our own fund, is very different from the uſe we make of what we borrow. Whether we ſpeak from digeſted knowledge, or the mere ſuggeſtion of others, the effect is ſoon perceived. Add to this, that conflux of ideas with which the different ſciences enrich the mind, gives an air of dignity to whatever we ſay, even in caſes where that depth of knowledge is not required. Science adorns the ſpeaker at all times, and, where it is leaſt expected, confers a grace that charms every hearer; the man of erudition feels it, and the unlettered part of the audience acknowledge the effect, without knowing the cauſe. A murmur of applauſe enſues; the ſpeaker is allowed to have laid in a ſtore of knowledge; he poſſeſſes all the powers of perſuaſion, and then is called an orator indeed.

I take the liberty to add, if we aſpire to that honourable appellation, that there is no way but that which I have chalked out. No man was ever yet

yet a complete orator, and, I affirm, never can be, unleſs, like the ſoldier marching to the field of battle, he enters the forum armed at all points with the ſciences and the liberal arts. Is that the caſe in theſe our modern times? The ſtyle, which we hear every day, abounds with colloquial barbariſms, and vulgar phraſeology: no knowledge of the laws is heard; our municipal policy is wholly neglected, and even the decrees of the ſenate are treated with contempt and deriſion. Moral philoſophy is diſcarded, and the maxims of ancient wiſdom are unworthy of their notice. In this manner, eloquence is dethroned; ſhe is baniſhed from her rightful dominions, and obliged to dwell in the cold regions of antitheſis, forced conceit, and pointed ſentences. The conſequence is, that ſhe, who was once the ſovereign miſtreſs of the ſciences, and led them as handmaids in her train, is now deprived of her attendants, reduced, impoveriſhed, and, ſtripped of her uſual honours (I might ſay of her genius), compelled to exerciſe a mere plebeian art.

And now, my friends, I think I have laid open the efficient cauſe of the decline of eloquence. Need I call witneſſes to ſupport my opinion? I name Demoſthenes among the Greeks. He, we are aſſured, conſtantly attended (*a*) the lectures of Plato. I name Cicero among the Romans: he tells us (I believe I can repeat his words), that if he attained any degree of excellence, he owed it, not ſo much to the precepts of rhetoricians, as to his meditations in the walks of the academic ſchool. I am aware that other cauſes of our preſent degeneracy may be added; but that taſk I leave to my friends, ſince I now may flatter myſelf that I have performed my promiſe. In doing it, I fear, that, as often happens to me, I

have

have incurred the danger of giving offence. Were a certain claſs of men to hear the principles which I have advanced in favour of legal knowledge and ſound philoſophy, I ſhould expect to be told that I have been all the time commending my own viſionary ſchemes.

XXXIII. You will excuſe me, replied Maternus, if I take the liberty to ſay, that you have by no means finiſhed your part of our enquiry. You ſeem to have ſpread your canvas, and to have touched the outlines of your plan; but there are other parts that ſtill require the colouring of ſo maſterly a hand. The ſtores of knowledge, with which the ancients enlarged their minds, you have fairly explained, and, in contraſt to that pleaſing picture, you have given us a true draught of modern ignorance. But we now wiſh to know, what were the exerciſes, and what the diſcipline, by which the youth of former times prepared themſelves for the honours of their profeſſion. It will not, I believe, be contended, that theory, and ſyſtems of art, are of themſelves ſufficient to form a genuine orator. It is by practice, and by conſtant exertion that the faculty of ſpeech improves, till the genius of the man expands, and flouriſhes in its full vigour. This, I think, you will not deny, and my two friends, if I may judge by their looks, ſeem to give their aſſent. Aper and Secundus agreed without heſitation.

Meſſala proceeded as follows: Having, as I conceive, ſhewn the ſeed-plots of ancient eloquence, and the fountains of ſcience, from which they drew ſuch copious ſtreams; it remains now to give ſome idea of the labour, the aſſiduity, and the exerciſes, by which they trained themſelves to their profeſſion. I need not obſerve, that in the purſuit of ſcience, method and conſtant

ſtant exerciſe are indiſpenſable: for who can hope, without regular attention, to maſter abſtract ſchemes of philoſophy, and embrace the whole compaſs of the ſciences? Knowledge muſt be grafted in the mind by frequent meditation (*a*); to that muſt be added the faculty of conveying our ideas; and, to make ſure of our impreſſion, we muſt be able to adorn our thoughts with the colours of true eloquence. Hence it is evident that the ſame arts, by which the mind lays in its ſtock of knowledge, muſt be ſtill purſued, in order to attain a clear and graceful manner of conveying that knowledge to others. This may be thought refined and too abſtruſe. If, however, we are ſtill to be told that ſcience and elocution are things in themſelves diſtinct and unrelated; this, at leaſt, may be aſſumed, that he, who, with a fund of previous knowledge, undertakes the province of oratory, will bring with him a mind well ſeaſoned, and duly prepared for the ſtudy and exerciſe of real eloquence.

XXXIV. The practice of our anceſtors was agreeable to this theory. The youth, who was intended for public declamation, went forth, under the care of his father, or ſome near relation, with all the advantages of home-diſcipline; his mind was expanded by the fine arts, and impregnated with ſcience. He was conducted to the moſt eminent orator of the time. Under that illuſtrious patronage, he viſited the forum; he attended his patron upon all occaſions; he liſtened with attention to his pleadings in the tribunals of juſtice, and his public harangues before the people; he heard him in the warmth of argument; he noted his ſudden replies, and thus, in the field of battle, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, he learned the firſt rudiments of rhetorical warfare. The advantages of this method are obvi-

ous: the young candidate gained courage, and improved his judgment; he ſtudied in open day, amidſt the heat of the conflict, where nothing weak or idle could be ſaid with impunity; where every thing abſurd was inſtantly rebuked by the judge, expoſed to ridicule by the adverſary, and condemned by the whole bar.

In this manner the ſtudent was initiated in the rules of ſound and manly eloquence; and, though it be true, that he placed himſelf under the auſpices of one orator only, he heard the reſt in their turn, and in that diverſity of taſtes which always prevails in mixed aſſemblies, he was enabled to diſtinguiſh what was excellent or defective in the kind. The orator in actual buſineſs was the beſt preceptor: the inſtructions which he gave, were living eloquence, the ſubſtance, and not the ſhadow. He was himſelf a real combatant, engaged with a zealous antagoniſt, both in earneſt, and not like gladiators, in a mock conteſt, fighting for prizes. It was a ſtruggle for victory, before an audience always changing, yet always full; where the ſpeaker had his enemies as well as his admirers; and between both, what was brilliant met with applauſe; what was defective, was ſure to be condemned. In this claſh of opinions, the genuine orator flouriſhed, and acquired that laſting fame, which, we all know, does not depend on the voice of friends only, but muſt rebound from the benches filled with your enemies. Extorted applauſe is the beſt ſuffrage.

In that ſchool, the youth of expectation, ſuch as I have delineated, was reared and educated by the moſt eminent genius of the times. In the forum, he was enlightened by the experience of others; he was inſtructed in the knowledge of the laws, accuſtomed to the eye of the judges, habituated to the looks of a numerous audience, and

and acquainted with the popular taſte. After this preparation, he was called forth to conduct a proſecution, or to take upon himſelf the whole weight of the defence. The fruit of his application was then ſeen at once. He was equal, in his firſt outſet, to the moſt arduous buſineſs. Thus it was that Craſſus, at the age of nineteen (*a*), ſtood forth the accuſer of Papirius Carbo: thus Julius Cæſar, at one-and-twenty, arraigned Dolabella; Aſinius Pollio, about the ſame age, attacked Caius Cato; and Calvus, but a little older, flamed out againſt Vatinius. Their ſeveral ſpeeches are ſtill extant, and we all read them with admiration.

XXXV. In oppoſition to this ſyſtem of education, what is our modern practice? Our young men are led (*a*) to academical proluſions in the ſchools of vain profeſſors, who call themſelves rhetoricians; a race of impoſtors, who made their firſt appearance at Rome, not long before the days of Cicero. That they were unwelcome viſitors, is evident from the circumſtance of their being ſilenced by the two cenſors (*b*), Craſſus and Domitius. They were ordered, ſays Cicero, to ſhut up their ſchool of impudence. Thoſe ſcenes, however, are open at preſent, and there our young ſtudents liſten to mountebank oratory. I am at a loſs how to determine which is moſt fatal to all true genius, the place itſelf, the company that frequent it, or the plan of ſtudy univerſally adopted. Can the place impreſs the mind with awe and reſpect, where none are ever ſeen but the raw, the unſkilful, and the ignorant? In ſuch an aſſembly what advantage can ariſe? Boys harangue before boys, and young men exhibit before their fellows. The ſpeaker is pleaſed with his declamation, and the hearer with his judgment. The very ſubjects on which

they diſplay their talents, tend to no uſeful purpoſe. They are of two ſorts, perſuaſive or controverſial. The firſt, ſuppoſed to be of the lighter kind, are uſually aſſigned to the youngeſt ſcholars: the laſt are reſerved for ſtudents of longer practice and riper judgment. But, gracious powers! what are the compoſitions produced on theſe occaſions?

The ſubject is remote from truth, and even probability, unlike any thing that ever happened in human life: and no wonder if the ſuperſtructure perfectly agrees with the foundation. It is to theſe ſcenic exerciſes that we owe a number of frivolous topics, ſuch as the reward due to the ſlayer of a tyrant; the election to be made by (*c*) violated virgins; the rites and ceremonies proper to be uſed during a raging peſtilence; the looſe behaviour of married women; with other fictitious ſubjects, hackneyed in the ſchools, and ſeldom or never heard of in our courts of juſtice. Theſe imaginary queſtions are treated with gawdy flouriſhes, and all the tumor of unnatural language. But after all this mighty parade, call theſe ſtriplings from their ſchools of rhetoric, into the preſence of the judges, and to the real buſineſs of the bar (*d*):

1. "WHAT figure will they make before that "ſolemn judicature? Trained up in chimerical "exerciſes, ſtrangers to the municipal laws, un- "acquainted with the principles of natural juſ- "tice and the rights of nations, they will bring "with them that falſe taſte which they have "been for years acquiring, but nothing worthy "of the public ear, nothing uſeful to their cli- "ents. They have ſucceeded in nothing but "the art of making themſelves ridiculous. The "peculiar quality of the teacher (*a*), whatever "it be, is ſure to transfuſe itſelf into the perfor-

"mance

" mance of the pupil. Is the maſter haughty,
" fierce, and arrogant? The ſcholar ſwells with
" confidence; his eye threatens prodigious
" things, and his harangue is an oſtentatious
" diſplay of the common places of ſchool
" oratory, dreſſed up with dazzling ſplendour,
" and thundered forth with emphaſis. On the
" other hand, does the maſter value himſelf for
" the delicacy of his taſte, for the foppery of
" glittering conceits and tinſel ornament? The
" youth who has been educated under him, ſets
" out with the ſame artificial prettineſs, the ſame
" foppery of ſtyle and manner. A ſimper plays
" on his countenance; his elocution is ſoft and
" delicate; his action pathetic; his ſentences
" entangled in a maze of ſweet perplexity; he
" plays off the whole of his theatrical ſkill, and
" hopes to elevate and ſurpriſe.

2. " THIS love of finery, this ambition to
" ſhine and glitter, has deſtroyed all true elo-
" quence. Oratory is not the child of hireling
" teachers: it ſprings from another ſource, from
" a love of liberty, from a mind replete with
" moral ſcience, and a thorough knowledge of
" the laws; from a due reſpect for the beſt ex-
" amples, from profound meditation (*a*), and a
" ſtyle formed by conſtant practice. While
" theſe were thought eſſential requiſites, elo-
" quence flouriſhed. But the true beauties of
" language fell into diſuſe, and oratory went to
" ruin. The ſpirit evaporated, I fear, to revive
" no more. I wiſh I may prove a falſe prophet,
" but we know the progreſs of art in every
" age and country. Rude at firſt, it riſes from
" low beginnings, and goes on improving,
" till it reaches the higheſt perfection in the
" kind. But on that point it is never ſtationary:
" it ſoon declines, and from the corruption of

" what

" what is good, it is not in the nature of man, " nor in the power of human faculties, to riſe " again to the ſame degree of excellence.

3. " MESSALA cloſed with a degree of vehe- " mence, and then turning to Maternus and Se- " cundus (*a*), it is yours, he ſaid, to purſue this " train of argument; or, if any cauſe of the de- " cay of eloquence lies ſtill deeper, you will " oblige us by bringing it to light. Maternus, " I preſume, will find no difficulty: a poetic ge- " nius holds commerce with the gods, and to " him nothing will remain a ſecret. As for Se- " cundus, he has been long a ſhining ornament " of the forum, and by his own experience " knows how to diſtinguiſh genuine eloquence " from the corrupt and vicious. Maternus heard " this ſally of his friend's good humour with a " ſmile. The taſk, he ſaid, which you have im- " poſed upon us, we will endeavour to execute. " But though I am the interpreter of the gods, I " muſt, notwithſtanding, requeſt that Secundus " may take the lead. He is maſter of the ſub- " ject, and, in queſtions of this kind, experi- " ence is better than inſpiration.

4. " SECUNDUS (*a*) complied with his friend's " requeſt. I yield, he ſaid, the more willingly, as " I ſhall hazard no new opinion, but rather con- " firm what has been urged by Meſſala. It is cer- " tain, that, as painters are formed by painters, and " poets by the example of poets, ſo the young ora- " tor muſt learn his art from orators only. In the " ſchools of rhetoricians (*b*), who think themſelves " the fountain-head of eloquence, every thing is " falſe and vitiated. The true principles of the " perſuaſive art are never known to the profeſ- " ſor, or, if at any time there may be found a " preceptor of ſuperior genius, can it be ex- " pected that he ſhall be able to transfuſe into " the

" the mind of his pupil all his own conceptions,
" pure, unmixed, and free from error. The
" ſenſibility of the maſter, ſince we have allow-
" ed him genius, will be an impediment: the
" uniformity of the ſame dull tedious round
" will give him diſguſt, and the ſtudent will
" turn from it with averſion. And yet I am in-
" clined to think, that the decay of eloquence
" would not have been ſo rapid, if other cauſes,
" more fatal than the corruption of the ſchools,
" had not co-operated. When the worſt models
" became the objects of imitation, and not only
" the young men of the age, but even the whole
" body of the people admired the new way of
" ſpeaking, eloquence fell at once into that ſtate
" of degeneracy, from which nothing can reco-
" ver it. We, who came afterwards, found
" ourſelves in a hopeleſs ſituation: we were dri-
" ven to wretched expedients, to forced con-
" ceits, and the glitter of frivolous ſentences;
" we were obliged to hunt after wit, when we
" could be no longer eloquent. By what per-
" nicious examples this was accompliſhed, has
" been explained by our friend Meſſala.

5. " We are none of us ſtrangers to thoſe un-
" happy times, when Rome, grown weary of
" her vaſt renown in arms, began to think of
" ſtriking into new paths of fame, no longer
" willing to depend on the glory of our anceſ-
" tors. The whole power of the ſtate was cen-
" tered in a ſingle ruler, and, by the policy of
" the prince, men were taught to think no more
" of ancient honour. Invention was on the
" ſtretch for novelty, and all looked for ſome-
" thing better than perfection; ſomething rare,
" far-fetched, and exquiſite. New modes of
" pleaſure were deviſed. In that period of
" luxury and diſſipation, when the rage for new
" inventions

" inventions was grown epidemic, Seneca aroſe. " His talents were of a peculiar ſort, acute, re- " fined, and poliſhed; but poliſhed to a degree " that made him prefer affectation and wit to " truth and nature. The predominance of his " genius was great, and, by conſequence, he " gave the mortal ſtab to all true eloquence (*a*). " When I ſay this, let me not be ſuſpected of " that low malignity which would tarniſh the " fame of a great character. I admire the man, " and the philoſopher. The undaunted firm- " neſs with which he braved the tyrant's frown, " will do immortal honour to his memory. But " the fact is, and why ſhould I diſguiſe it? the " virtues of the writer have undone his country.

6. " To bring about this unhappy revolution, " no man was ſo eminently qualified (*a*). His " underſtanding was large and comprehenſive; " his genius rich and powerful; his way of " thinking ingenious, elegant, and even charm- " ing. His reſearches in moral philoſophy ex- " cited the admiration of all; and moral philo- " ſophy is never ſo highly praiſed, as when the " manners are in a ſtate of degeneracy. Seneca " knew the taſte of the times. He had the art " to gratify the public ear. His ſtyle is neat, " yet animated; conciſe, yet clear; familiar, " yet ſeldom inelegant. Free from redundancy, " his periods are often abrupt, but they ſurpriſe " by their vivacity. He ſhines in pointed ſen- " tences, and that unceaſing perſecution of vice, " which is kept up with uncommon ardour, " ſpreads a luſtre over all his writings. His " brilliant ſtyle charmed by its novelty. Every " page ſparkles with wit, with gay alluſions, " and ſentiments of virtue. No wonder that " the graceful eaſe, and ſometimes the dignity " of his expreſſion, made their way into the fo-

" rum.

" rum. What pleaſed univerſally, ſoon found
" a number of imitators. Add to this the ad-
" vantages of rank and honours. He mixed in
" the ſplendour, and, perhaps, in the vices of
" the court. The reſentment of Caligula, and
" the acts of oppreſſion which ſoon after follow-
" ed, ſerved only to adorn his name. To crown
" all, Nero was his pupil, and his murderer.
" Hence the character and genius of the man
" roſe to the higheſt eminence. What was ad-
" mired, was imitated, and true oratory was
" heard no more. The love of novelty pre-
" vailed, and for the dignified ſimplicity of an-
" cient eloquence no taſte remained. The art
" itſelf, and all its neceſſary diſcipline, became
" ridiculous. In that black period, when vice
" triumphed at large, and virtue had every thing
" to fear, the temper of the times was propiti-
" ous to the corruptors of taſte and liberal ſci-
" ence. The dignity of compoſition was no
" longer of uſe. It had no power to ſtop the
" torrent of vice which deluged the city of
" Rome, and virtue found it a feeble protection.
" In ſuch a conjuncture it was not ſafe to ſpeak
" the ſentiments of the heart. To be obſcure,
" abrupt, and dark, was the beſt expedient.
" Then it was that the affected ſententious brevi-
" ty came into vogue. To ſpeak conciſely, and
" with an air of precipitation, was the general
" practice. To work the ruin of a perſon ac-
" cuſed, a ſingle ſentence, or a ſplendid phraſe
" was ſufficient. Men defended themſelves in
" a ſhort brilliant expreſſion; and if that did
" not protect them, they died with a lively apo-
" thegm, and their laſt words were wit. This
" was the faſhion introduced by Seneca. The
" peculiar, but agreeable vices of his ſtyle
" wrought the downfal of eloquence. The ſo-
" lid

" lid was exchanged for the brilliant, and they,
" who ceaſed to be orators, ſtudied to be inge-
" nious.

7. " Of late, indeed, we have ſeen the dawn
" of better times. In the courſe of the laſt ſix
" years Veſpaſian has revived our hopes (*a*).
" The friend of regular manners, and the en-
" courager of ancient virtue, by which Rome
" was raiſed to the higheſt pinnacle of glory,
" he has reſtored the public peace, and with it
" the bleſſings of liberty. Under his propiti-
" ous influence, the arts and ſciences begin once
" more to flouriſh, and genius has been honour-
" ed with his munificence. The example of his
" ſons (*b*) has helped to kindle a ſpirit of emu-
" lation. We beheld, with pleaſure, the two
" princes adding to the dignity of their rank,
" and their fame in arms, all the grace and ele-
" gance of polite literature. But it is fatally
" true, that when the public taſte is once cor-
" rupted, the mind, which has been warped,
" ſeldom recovers its former tone. This diffi-
" culty was rendered ſtill more inſurmountable
" by the licentious ſpirit of our young men, and
" the popular applauſe, that encouraged the
" falſe taſte of the times. I need not, in this
" company, call to mind the unbridled pre-
" ſumption, with which, as ſoon as genuine elo-
" quence expired, the young men of the age
" took poſſeſſion of the forum. Of modeſt worth
" and ancient manners nothing remained. We
" know that in former times the youthful can-
" didate was introduced in the forum by a per-
" ſon of conſular rank (*c*), and by him ſet for-
" ward in his road to fame. That laudable cuſ-
" tom being at an end, all fences were thrown
" down: no ſenſe of ſhame remained, no reſ-
" pect for the tribunals of juſtice. The aſpiring
" genius

" genius wanted no patronage; he ſcorned the " uſual forms of a regular introduction; and, " with full confidence in his own powers, he " obtruded himſelf on the court. Neither the " ſolemnity of the place, nor the ſanctity of laws, " nor the importance of the oratorical character, " could reſtrain the impetuoſity of young ambi- " tion. Unconſcious of the importance of the " undertaking, and leſs ſenſible of his own inca- " pacity, the bold adventurer ruſhed at once in- " to the moſt arduous buſineſs. Arrogance ſup- " plied the place of talents.

8. " To oppoſe the torrent, that bore down " every thing, the danger of loſing all fair and " honeſt fame was the only circumſtance that " could afford a ray of hope. But even that ſlen- " der fence was ſoon removed by the arts of (*a*) " Largius Licinius. He was the firſt that open- " ed a new road to ambition. He intrigued for " fame, and filled the benches with an audience " ſuborned to applaud his declamations. He " had his circle round him, and ſhouts of appro- " bation followed. It was upon that occaſion " that Domitius Afer (*b*) emphatically ſaid, Elo- " quence is now at the laſt gaſp. It had, indeed, " at that time ſhewn manifeſt ſymptoms of de- " cay, but its total ruin may be dated from the " introduction of a mercenary band (*c*) to flatter " and applaud. If we except a choſen few, whoſe " ſuperior genius has not as yet been ſeduced " from truth and nature, the reſt are followed " by their partiſans, like actors on the ſtage, ſub- " ſiſting altogether on the bought ſuffrages of " mean and proſtitute hirelings. Nor is this for- " did traffic carried on with ſecrecy: we ſee the " bargain made in the face of the court; the " bribe is diſtributed with as little ceremony as " if they were in a private party at the orator's

" own

" own houſe. Having ſold their voices, this ve-
" nal crew ruſh forward from one tribunal to
" another, the diſtributors of fame, and the ſole
" judges of literary merit. The practice is, no
" doubt, diſgraceful. To brand it with infa-
" my, two new terms have been invented (*d*),
" one in the Greek language, importing the ven-
" ders of praiſe, and the other in the Latin idi-
" om, ſignifying the paraſites who ſell their ap-
" plauſe for a ſupper. But ſarcaſtic expreſſions
" have not been able to cure the miſchief: the
" applauders by profeſſion have taken courage,
" and the name, which was intended as a ſtroke
" of ridicule, is now become an honourable ap-
" pellation.

9. " This infamous practice rages at preſent
" with increaſing violence. The party no lon-
" ger conſiſts of freeborn citizens; our very ſlaves
" are hired. Even before they arrive at full age,
" we ſee them diſtributing the rewards of elo-
" quence. Without attending to what is ſaid,
" and without ſenſe enough to underſtand, they
" are ſure to crowd the courts of juſtice, when-
" ever a raw young man, ſtung with the love of
" fame, but without talents to deſerve it, ob-
" trudes himſelf in the character of an advocate.
" The hall reſounds with acclamations, or rather
" with a kind of bellowing; for I know not by
" what term to expreſs that ſavage uproar, which
" would diſgrace a theatre.

" Upon the whole, when I conſider theſe in-
" famous practices, which have brought ſo much
" diſhonour upon a liberal profeſſion, I am far
" from wondering that you, Maternus, judged
" it time to ſound your retreat. When you could
" no longer attend with honour, you did well,
" my friend, to devote yourſelf entirely to the
" muſes. And now, ſince you are to cloſe the

" debate,

" debate, permit me to requeſt, that, beſides un-
" folding the cauſes of corrupt eloquence, you
" will fairly tell us, whether you entertain any
" hopes of better times, and, if you do, by what
" means a reformation may be accompliſhed.

10. "It is true, (*a*), ſaid Maternus, that ſeeing the
" forum deluged by an inundation of vices, I was
" glad, as my friend expreſſed it, to ſound my
" retreat. I ſaw corruption ruſhing on with haſty
" ſtrides, too ſhameful to be defended, and too
" powerful to be reſiſted. And yet, though
" urged by all thoſe motives, I ſhould hardly
" have renounced the buſineſs of the bar, if the
" bias of my nature had not inclined me to other
" ſtudies. I balanced, however, for ſome time.
" It was, at firſt, my fixed reſolution to ſtand to
" the laſt a poor remnant of that integrity and
" manly eloquence, which ſtill lingered at the
" bar, and ſhewed ſome ſigns of life. It was my
" intention, to emulate not, indeed, with equal
" powers, but certainly with equal firmneſs, the
" bright models of ancient times, and, in that
" courſe of practice, to defend the fortunes, the
" dignity, and the innocence of my fellow-citi-
" zens. But the ſtrong impulſe of inclination
" was not to be reſiſted. I laid down my arms,
" and deſerted to the ſafe and tranquil camp of
" the muſes. But though a deſerter, I have not
" quite forgot the ſervice in which I was enliſted.
" I honour the profeſſors of real eloquence, and
" that ſentiment, I hope, will be always warm in
" my heart.

11. "In my ſolitary walks and moments of
" meditation, it often happens, that I fall into a
" train of thinking on the flouriſhing ſtate of an-
" cient eloquence, and the abject condition to
" which it is reduced in modern times. The re-
" ſult of my reflections I ſhall venture to unfold,

" not

" not with a ſpirit of controverſy, nor yet dog-
" matically to enforce my own opinion. I may
" differ in ſome points, but from a colliſion of
" ſentiments it is poſſible that ſome new light may
" be ſtruck out. My friend Aper will, therefore,
" excuſe me, if I do not, with him, prefer the
" falſe glitter of the moderns to the ſolid vigour
" of ancient genius. At the ſame time, it is not
" my intention to diſparage his friends. Meſſala
" too, whom you, Secundus, have cloſely fol-
" lowed, will forgive me, if I do not, in every
" thing, coincide with his opinion. The vices
" of the forum, which you have both, as be-
" comes men of integrity, attacked with vehe-
" mence, will not have me for their apologiſt.
" But ſtill I may be allowed to aſk, have you not
" been too much exaſperated againſt the rheto-
" ricians ?

" I WILL not ſay in their favour, that I think
" them equal to the taſk of reviving the honours
" of eloquence; but I have known among them,
" men of unblemiſhed morals, of regular diſci-
" pline, great erudition, and talents every way
" fit to form the minds of youth to a juſt taſte
" for ſcience and the perſuaſive arts. In this
" number one in particular (*a*) has lately ſhone
" forth with ſuperior luſtre. From his abilities,
" all that is in the power of man may fairly be
" expected. A genius like his would have been
" the ornament of better times. Poſterity will
" admire and honour him. And yet I would
" not have Secundus amuſe himſelf with ill-
" grounded hopes: neither the learning of that
" moſt excellent man, nor the induſtry of ſuch
" as may follow him, will be able to promote the
" intereſts of eloquence, or to eſtabliſh her for-
" mer glory. It is a loſt cauſe. Before the vices
" which have been ſo ably deſcribed, had ſpread

" a general

" a general infection, all true oratory was at an
" end. The revolutions in our government,
" and the violence of the times, began the mif-
" chief, and, in the end, gave the fatal blow.

12. " Nor are we to wonder at this event. In
" the courfe of human affairs there is no ftability,
" nothing fecure or permanent. It is with our
" minds as with our bodies: the latter, as foon
" as they have attained their full growth, and
" feem to flourifh in the vigour of health, begin,
" from that moment, to feel the gradual ap-
" proaches of decay. Our intellectual powers
" proceed in the fame manner; they gain ftrength
" by degrees, they arrive at maturity, and,
" when they can no longer improve, they lan-
" guifh, droop, and fade away. This is the law
" of nature, to which every age, and every na-
" tion, of which we have any hiftorical records,
" have been obliged to fubmit. There is befides
" another general law, hard perhaps, but won-
" derfully ordained, and it is this: nature, whofe
" operations are always fimple and uniform,
" never fuffers in any age or country, more than
" one great example of perfection in the kind (*a*).
" This was the cafe in Greece, that prolific pa-
" rent of genius and of fcience. She had but
" one Homer, one Plato, one Demofthenes. The
" fame has happened at Rome: Virgil ftands at
" the head of his art, and Cicero is ftill unrival-
" led. During a fpace of feven hundred years
" our anceftors were ftruggling to reach the fum-
" mit of perfection: Cicero at length arofe; he
" thundered forth his immortal energy, and na-
" ture was fatisfied with the wonder fhe had
" made. The force of genius could go no fur-
" ther. A new road to fame was to be found.
" We aimed at wit, and gay conceit, and glit-
" tering fentences. The change, indeed, was

" great,

" great, but it naturally followed the new form " of government. Genius died with public " liberty.

13. " We find that the diſcourſe of men always " conforms to the temper of the times. Among " ſavage nations (*a*) language is never copious. " A few words ſerve the purpoſe of barbarians, " and thoſe are always uncouth and harſh, with- " out the artifice of connection; ſhort, abrupt, " and nervous. In a ſtate of poliſhed ſociety, " where a ſingle ruler ſways the ſceptre, the pow- " ers of the mind take a ſofter tone, and language " grows more refined. But affectation follows, " and preciſion gives way to delicacy. The juſt " and natural expreſſion is no longer the faſhion. " Living in eaſe and luxury, men look for ele- " gance, and hope by novelty to give a grace to " adulation. In other nations, where the firſt " principles of the civil union are maintained in " vigour; where the people live under the go- " vernment of laws, and not the will of man; " where the ſpirit of liberty pervades all ranks " and orders of the ſtate; where every individu- " al holds himſelf bound, at the hazard of his " life, to defend the conſtitution framed by his " anceſtors; where, without being guilty of an " impious crime, no man dares to violate the " rights of the whole community; in ſuch a " ſtate, the national eloquence will be prompt, " bold, and animated. Should internal diſſen- " tions ſhake the public peace, or foreign ene- " mies threaten to invade the land, eloquence " comes forth arrayed in terror; ſhe wields her " thunder, and commands all hearts. It is true, " that upon thoſe occaſions men of ambition en- " deavour, for their own purpoſes, to ſpread " the flame of ſedition; while the good and vir- " tuous combine their force to quell the turbu-

" lent,

" lent, and repel the menaces of a foreign ene-
" my. Liberty gains new ſtrength by the con-
" flict, and the true patriot has the glory of ſerv-
" ing his country, diſtinguiſhed by his valour in
" the field, and in debate, no leſs terrible by his
" eloquence.

14. " HENCE it is that in free governments we
" ſee a conſtellation of orators. Hence Demoſt-
" henes diſplayed the powers of his amazing ge-
" nius, and acquired immortal honour. He ſaw
" a quick and lively people, diſſolved in luxury,
" open to the ſeductions of wealth, and ready to
" ſubmit to a maſter; he ſaw a great and warlike
" monarch threatening deſtruction to the liberties
" of his country; he ſaw that prince at the head
" of powerful armies, renowned for victory, poſ-
" ſeſſed of an opulent treaſury, formidable in
" battle, and, by his ſecret arts, ſtill more ſo in
" the cabinet; he ſaw that king, inflamed by am-
" bition and the luſt of dominion, determined
" to deſtroy the liberties of Greece. It was that
" alarming criſis that called forth the powers of
" Demoſthenes. Armed with eloquence, and
" with eloquence only, he ſtood as a bulwark
" againſt a combination of enemies foreign and
" domeſtic. He roufed his countrymen from
" their lethargy; he kindled the holy flame of
" liberty; he counteracted the machinations of
" Philip, detected his clandeſtine frauds, and
" fired the men of Athens with indignation.
" To effect theſe generous purpoſes, and defeat
" the policy of a ſubtle enemy, what powers of
" mind were neceſſary! how vaſt, how copious,
" how ſublime! He thundered and lightened in
" his diſcourſe; he faced every danger with un-
" daunted reſolution. Difficulties ſerved only to
" inſpire him with new ardour. The love of his
" country glowed in his heart; liberty roufed all

" his powers, and fame held forth her immortal
" wreath to reward his labours. Theſe were the
" fine incentives that rouſed his genius, and no
" wonder that his mind expanded with vaſt con-
" ceptions. He thought for his country, and,
" by conſequence, every ſentiment was ſublime;
" every expreſſion was grand and magnificent."

XXXVI. The true ſpirit of genuine eloquence (*a*), like an intenſe fire, is kept alive by freſh materials: every new commotion gives it vigour, and in proportion as it burns, it expands and brightens to a purer flame. The ſame cauſes at Rome produced the ſame effect. Tempeſtuous times called forth the genius of our anceſtors. The moderns, it is true, have taken fire, and roſe above themſelves, as often as a quiet, ſettled, and uniform government gave a fair opportunity; but eloquence, it is certain, flouriſhes moſt under a bold and turbulent democracy, where the ambitious citizen, who beſt can mould to his purpoſes a fierce and contentious multitude, is ſure to be the idol of the people. In the conflict of parties, that kept our anceſtors in agitation, laws were multiplied; the leading chiefs were the favourite demagogues; the magiſtrates were often engaged in midnight debate; eminent citizens were brought to a public trial; families were ſet at variance; the nobles were ſplit into factions, and the ſenate waged inceſſant war againſt the people. Hence that flame of eloquence which blazed out under the republican government, and hence that conſtant fuel that kept the flame alive.

The ſtate, it is true, was often thrown into convulſions; but talents were exerciſed, and genius opened the way to public honours. He who poſſeſſed the powers of perſuaſion, roſe to eminence, and by the arts, which gave him popularity, he was ſure to eclipſe his colleagues. He

ſtrengthened

ſtrengthened his intereſt with the leading men, and gained weight and influence not only in the ſenate, but in all aſſemblies of the people. Foreign nations (*b*) courted his friendſhip. The magiſtrates, ſetting out for their provinces, made it their buſineſs to ingratiate themſelves with the popular ſpeaker, and, at their return, took care to renew their homage. The powerful orator had no occaſion to ſolicit for preferment: the offices of prætor and conſul ſtood open to receive him. He was invited to thoſe exalted ſtations. Even in the rank of a private citizen he had a conſiderable ſhare of power, ſince his authority ſwayed at once the ſenate and the people. It was in thoſe days a ſettled maxim, that no man could either riſe to dignities, or ſupport himſelf in office, without poſſeſſing, in an eminent degree, a power of words, and dignity of language.

Nor can this be matter of wonder, when we recollect, that perſons of diſtinguiſhed genius were, on various occaſions, called forth by the voice of the people, and in their preſence obliged to act an important part. Eloquence was the ruling paſſion of all. The reaſon is, it was not then ſufficient merely to vote in the ſenate; it was neceſſary to ſupport that vote with ſtrength of reaſoning, and a flow of language. Moreover, in all proſecutions, the party accuſed was expected to make his defence in perſon, and to examine the witneſſes (*c*), who at that time were not allowed to ſpeak in written depoſitions, but were obliged to give their teſtimony in open court. In this manner, neceſſity, no leſs than the temptation of bright rewards, conſpired to make men cultivate the arts of oratory. He who was known to poſſeſs the powers of ſpeech, was held in the higheſt veneration. The mute and ſilent charac-

ter fell into contempt. The dread of ſhame was a motive not leſs powerful than the ambition that aimed at honours. To ſink into the humiliating rank of a client, inſtead of maintaining the dignity of a patron, was a degrading thought. Men were unwilling to ſee the followers of their anceſtors transferred to other families for protection. Above all, they dreaded the diſgrace of being thought unworthy of civil honours; and, if by intrigue they attained their wiſhes, the fear of being deſpiſed for incapacity was a ſpur to quicken their ardour in the purſuit of literary fame and commanding eloquence.

XXXVII. I DO not know whether you have as yet ſeen the hiſtorical memoirs which Mucianus (*a*) has collected, and lately publiſhed, containing, in eleven volumes, the tranſactions of the times, and, in three more, the letters of eminent men who figured on the ſtage of public buſineſs. This portion of hiſtory is well authenticated by the original papers, ſtill extant in the libraries of the curious. From this valuable collection it appears, that Pompey and Craſſus (*b*) owed their elevation as much to their talents as to their fame in arms; and that Lentulus (*c*), Metellus, Lucullus, Curio, and others of that claſs, took care to enlarge their minds, and diſtinguiſh themſelves by their powers of ſpeech. To ſay all in one word, no man, in thoſe times, roſe to eminence in the ſtate, who had not given proof of his genius in the forum and the tribunals of juſtice.

To this it may be added, that the importance, the ſplendour, and magnitude of the queſtions diſcuſſed in that period, ſerved to animate the public orator. The ſubject, beyond all doubt, lifts the mind above itſelf: it gives vigour to ſentiment,

ſentiment, and energy to expreſſion. Let the topic be a paltry theft, a dry form of pleading, or a petty miſdemeanor; will not the orator feel himſelf cramped and chilled by the meanneſs of the queſtion? Give him a cauſe of magnitude, ſuch as bribery in the election of magiſtrates, a charge for plundering the allies of Rome, or the murder of Roman citizens, how different then his emotions! how ſublime each ſentiment! what dignity of language! The effect, it muſt be admitted, ſprings from the diſaſters of ſociety. It is true, that form of government, in which no ſuch evils occur, muſt, beyond all queſtion, be allowed to be the beſt; but ſince, in the courſe of human affairs, ſudden convulſions muſt happen, my poſition is, that they produced, at Rome, that flame of eloquence which at this hour is ſo much admired. The mind of the orator grows and expands with his ſubject. Without ample materials no ſplendid oration was ever yet produced. Demoſthenes, I believe, did not owe his vaſt reputation to the ſpeeches which he made againſt his guardians (*d*); nor was it either the oration in defence of Quinctius, or that for Archias the poet, that eſtabliſhed the character of Cicero. It was Catiline, it was Verres, it was Milo and Mark Antony, that ſpread ſo much glory round him.

Let me not be miſunderſtood: I do not ſay, that for the ſake of hearing a bright diſplay of eloquence, it is fit that the public peace ſhould be diſturbed by the machinations of turbulent and lawleſs men. But, not to loſe ſight of the queſtion before us, let it be remembered, that we are enquiring about an art which thrives and flouriſhes moſt in tempeſtuous times. It were, no doubt, better that the public ſhould enjoy the ſweets of peace, than be haraſſed by the cala-

mities

mities of war: but ſtill it is war that produces the ſoldier and the great commander. It is the ſame with eloquence. The oftener ſhe is obliged, if I may ſo expreſs it, to take the field, the more frequent the engagement, in which ſhe gives and receives alternate wounds; and the more formidable her adverſary, the more ſhe riſes in pomp and grandeur, and returns from the warfare of the forum crowned with unfading laurels. He, who encounters danger, is ever ſure to win the ſuffrages of mankind. For ſuch is the nature of the human mind, that, in general, we chooſe a ſtate of ſecurity for ourſelves, but never fail to gaze with admiration on the man, whom we ſee, in the conflict of parties, facing his adverſaries, and ſurmounting difficulties.

XXXVIII. I PROCEED to another advantage of the ancient forum; I mean the form of proceeding and the rules of practice obſerved in thoſe days. Our modern cuſtom is, I grant, more conducive to truth and juſtice; but that of former times gave to eloquence a free career, and, by conſequence, greater weight and ſplendour. The advocate was not, as now, confined to a few hours (*a*); he might adjourn as often as it ſuited his convenience; he might expatiate, as his genius prompted him: and the number of days, like that of the ſeveral patrons, was unlimited. Pompey was the firſt, who circumſcribed the genius of men within narrower limits (*b*). In his third conſulſhip he gave a check to eloquence, and, as it were, bridled its ſpirit, but ſtill left all cauſes to be tried according to law in the forum, and before the prætors. The importance of the buſineſs, which was decided in that courſe of juſtice, will be evident, if we compare it with the tranſactions before the centumvirs

tumvirs (*c*), who at preſent have cognizance of all matters whatever. We have not ſo much as one oration of Cicero, or Cæſar; of Brutus, Cælius, or Calvus, or any other perſon famous for his eloquence, which was delivered before the laſt mentioned juriſdiction, excepting only the ſpeeches of Aſinius Pollio (*d*) for the heirs of Urbinia. But thoſe ſpeeches were delivered about the middle of the reign of Auguſtus, when, after a long peace with foreign nations, and a profound tranquillity at home, that wiſe and politic prince had conquered all oppoſition, and not only triumphed over party and faction, but ſubdued eloquence itſelf.

XXXIX. What I am going to ſay will appear, perhaps, too minute; it may border on the ridiculous, and excite your mirth: with all my heart; I will hazard it for that very reaſon. The dreſs now in uſe at the bar has an air of meanneſs: the ſpeaker is confined in a cloſe robe (*a*), and loſes all the grace of action. The very courts of judicature are another objection; all cauſes are heard, at preſent, in little narrow rooms, where ſpirit and ſtrenuous exertion are unneceſſary. The orator, like a generous ſteed, requires liberty and ample ſpace: before a ſcanty tribunal his ſpirit droops, and the dulneſs of the ſcene damps the powers of genius. Add to this, we pay no attention to ſtyle; and indeed how ſhould we? No time is allowed for the beauties of compoſition: the judge calls upon you to begin, and you muſt obey, liable at the ſame time, to frequent interruptions, while documents are read, and witneſſes examined.

During all this formality, what kind of an audience has the orator to invigorate his faculties? Two or three ſtragglers drop in by chance, and to them the whole buſineſs ſeems to be tranſacted

tranſacted in ſolitude. But the orator requires a different ſcene. He delights in clamour, tumult, and burſts of applauſe. Eloquence muſt have her theatre, as was the caſe in ancient times, when the forum was crowded with the firſt men in Rome; when a numerous train of clients preſſed forward with eager expectation; when the people, in their ſeveral tribes; when ambaſſadors from the colonies, and a great part of Italy attended to hear the debate; in ſhort, when all Rome was intereſted in the event. We know that in the caſes of Cornelius, Scaurus, Milo, Beſtia, and Vatinius, the concourſe was ſo great, that thoſe ſeveral cauſes were tried before the whole body of the people. A ſcene ſo vaſt and magnificent was enough to inflame the moſt languid orator. The ſpeeches delivered upon thoſe occaſions are in every body's hands, and, by their intrinſic excellence, we of this day eſtimate the genius of the reſpective authors.

XL. If we now conſider the frequent aſſemblies of the people, and the right of proſecuting the moſt eminent men in the ſtate; if we reflect on the glory, that ſprung from the declared hoſtility of the moſt illuſtrious characters; if we recollect, that even Scipio, Sylla, and Pompey were not ſheltered from the ſtorms of eloquence, what a number of cauſes ſhall we ſee conſpiring to rouſe the ſpirit of the ancient forum? The malignity of the human heart, always adverſe to ſuperior characters, encouraged the orator to perſiſt. The very players, by ſarcaſtic alluſions to men in power, gratified the public ear, and, by conſequence, ſharpened the wit and acrimony of the bold declaimer.

Need I obſerve to you, that in all I have ſaid, I have not been ſpeaking of that temperate fa-

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culty (*a*) which delights in quiet times, ſupported by its own integrity, and the virtues of moderation? I ſpeak of popular eloquence, the genuine offspring of that licentiouſneſs, to which fools and ill-deſigning men have given the name of liberty: I ſpeak of bold and turbulent oratory, that inflamer of the people, and conſtant companion of ſedition; that fierce incendiary, that knows no compliance, and ſcorns to temporiſe; buſy, raſh and arrogant, but, in quiet and well regulated governments utterly unknown. Who ever heard of an orator at Crete or Lacedæmon? In thoſe ſtates a ſyſtem of rigorous diſcipline was eſtabliſhed by the firſt principles of the conſtitution. Macedonian and Perſian eloquence are equally unknown. The ſame may be ſaid of every country, where the plan of government was fixed and uniform.

At Rhodes, indeed, and alſo at Athens, orators exiſted without number, and the reaſon is, in thoſe communities the people directed every thing; a giddy multitude governed, and, to ſay the truth, all things were in the power of all. In like manner, while Rome was engaged in one perpetual ſcene of contention; while parties, factions, and internal diviſions convulſed the ſtate; no peace in the forum, in the ſenate no union of ſentiment; while the tribunals of juſtice acted without moderation; while the magiſtrates knew no bounds, and no man paid reſpect to eminent merit; in ſuch times it muſt be acknowledged that Rome produced a race of noble orators; as in the wild uncultivated field the richeſt vegetables will often ſhoot up, and flouriſh with uncommon vigour. And yet it is fair to aſk, could all the elo-

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quence of the Gracchi atone for the laws which they impoſed on their country? Could the fame, which Cicero obtained by his eloquence, compenſate for the tragic end to which it brought him (*b*)?

XLI. The forum, at preſent, is the laſt ſad relick of ancient oratory. But does that epitome of former greatneſs give the idea of a city ſo well regulated, that we may reſt contented with our form of government, without wiſhing for a reformation of abuſes? If we except the man of guilt, or ſuch as labour under the hard hand of oppreſſion, who reſorts to us for our aſſiſtance? If a municipal city applies for protection, it is, when the inhabitants, haraſſed by the adjacent ſtates, or rent and torn by inteſtine diviſions, ſue for protection. The province, that addreſſes the ſenate for a redreſs of grievances, has been oppreſſed and plundered, before we hear of the complaint. It is true, we vindicate the injured, but to ſuffer no oppreſſion would ſurely be better than to obtain relief. Find, if you can, in any part of the world a wiſe and happy community, where no man offends againſt the laws: in ſuch a nation what can be the uſe of oratory? You may as well profeſs the healing art, where ill health is never known. Let men enjoy bodily vigour, and the practice of phyſic will have no encouragement. In like manner, where ſober manners prevail, and ſubmiſſion to the authority of government is the national virtue, the powers of perſuaſion are rendered uſeleſs. Eloquence has loſt her field of glory. In the ſenate, what need of elaborate ſpeeches, when all good men are already of one mind? What occaſion for ſtudied harangues before a popular aſſembly, where the form of government leaves nothing to the deciſi-

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on of a wild democracy, but the whole administration is conducted by the wisdom of a single ruler? And again; when crimes are rare, and in fact of no great moment, what avails the boasted right of individuals to commence a voluntary prosecution? What necessity for a studied defence, often composed in a style of vehemence, artfully addressed to the passions, and generally stretched beyond all bounds, when justice is executed in mercy, and the judge is of himself disposed to succour the distressed?

Believe me, my very good, and (as far as the times will admit) my eloquent friends, had it been your lot to live under the old republic, and the men, whom we so much admire, had been reserved for the present age; if some god had changed the period of theirs and your existence, the flame of genius had been yours, and the chiefs of antiquity would now be acting with minds subdued to the temper of the times. Upon the whole, since no man can enjoy a state of calm tranquillity, and, at the same time, raise a great and splendid reputation; to be content with the benefits of the age in which we live, without detracting from our ancestors, is the virtue that best becomes us.

XLII. MATERNUS concluded (*a*) his discourse. There have been, said Messala, some points advanced, to which I do not entirely accede; and others, which I think require farther explanation. But the day is well nigh spent. We will, therefore, adjourn the debate. Be it as you think proper, replied Maternus; and if, in what I have said, you find any thing not sufficiently clear, we will adjust those matters in some future conference. Hereupon he rose from his seat, and embracing Aper, I am afraid, he said, that it will fare hardly with you, my good friend. I shall

ſhall cite you to anſwer before the poets, and Meſſala will arraign you at the bar of the antiquarians. And I, replied Aper, ſhall make repriſals on you both before the ſchool-profeſſors and the rhetoricians. This occaſioned ſome mirth and raillery. We laughed, and parted in good humour.

END OF THE DIALOGUE.

NOTES

ON

THE MANNERS

OF THE

GERMANS.

NOTES

ON

THE MANNERS

OF

THE GERMANS.

THE time when the treatiſe on the German Manners was written, is fixed by Lipſius in the fourth conſulſhip of Nerva, and the ſecond of Trajan, A. U. C. 851, A. D. 98. A paſſage in ſection 37, where Tacitus mentions the ſecond conſulſhip of Trajan, clearly ſhews that the piece was compoſed in that year, or ſoon after. It is a draught of ſavage manners, delineated by a maſterly hand; the more intereſting, as the part of the world which it deſcribes was the ſeminary of the modern European nations; the VAGINA GENTIUM, as hiſtorians have emphatically called it. The work is ſhort, but, as Monteſquieu obſerves, it is the work of a man, who abridged

abridged every thing, becauſe he knew every thing. It is for this reaſon that the following notes have ſwelled to a ſize, which may, at firſt ſight, appear unwieldy: but the ſubject merits attention; it calls for ſomething more than mere curſory obſervation. If the preſent writer has collected with diligence; if the brevity of the author be explained; if his facts receive full confirmation from the following illuſtrations; the enquiry will not be thought to be mere oſtentation or vain parade. A thorough knowledge of the tranſactions of barbarous ages will throw more light than is generally imagined on the laws of modern times. Wherever the barbarians, who iſſued from their northern hive, ſettled in new habitations, they carried with them their native genius, their original manners, and the firſt rudiments of the political ſyſtem which has prevailed in different parts of Europe. They eſtabliſhed monarchy and liberty; ſubordination and freedom; the prerogative of the prince and the rights of the ſubject; all united in ſo bold a combination, that the fabric in ſome places ſtands to this hour the wonder of mankind. The Britiſh conſtitution, ſays Monteſquieu, came out of the woods of Germany. What the ſtate of this country was before the arrival of our Saxon anceſtors, Tacitus has ſhewn in the Life of Agricola. If we add to this account what has been tranſmitted to us concerning the Germans and Britons by Julius Cæſar, we ſhall ſee the origin of the Anglo-Saxon government, the great outline of that Gothic conſtitution, under which the people enjoy their rights and liberties at this hour. Monteſquieu, ſpeaking of his own country, declares it impoſſible to form an adequate notion of the French monarchy, and the changes of their government, without a previous enquiry into the manners, genius, and ſpirit of the German na-

tions. Much of what was incorporated with the inſtitutions of thoſe fierce invaders, has flowed down in the ſtream of time, and ſtill mingles with our modern juriſprudence. It is true, that in the progreſs of ſociety, arts and ſciences have diffuſed new lights, and the civil union being, by conſequence, better underſtood, milder laws and more poliſhed manners have well-nigh effaced all traces of barbariſm; but ſtill it will not be unpleaſant, nor indeed uſeleſs, to go back to thoſe days of ignorance. We ſhall view the waters at their fountain-head dark, foul, and muddy; but by following them downward, we ſhall ſee them working themſelves clear, and purified, at length, to a clear and limpid current. We ſhall gain a knowledge of the origin of laws, while we read the hiſtory of the human mind. The ſubject, it is conceived, is intereſting to every Briton. The following notes are, therefore, offered without further apology for their length. In the manners of the Germans the reader will ſee our preſent frame of government, as it were, in its cradle; *gentis cunabula noſtræ!* The antiquarian, who has already made his reſearches, will, perhaps, find little novelty; but to thoſe who have not had leiſure or curioſity, the following annotations may open new veins of knowledge and reflection. They will lead to a better acquaintance with a fierce and warlike people, to whom this country owes that ſpirit of liberty, which through ſo many centuries has preſerved our excellent form of government, and raiſed the glory of the Britiſh nation.

——————Genus unde Latinum,
Albanique patres, atque altæ mœnia Romæ.

Section I.

(*a*) It is material in this place to obſerve, that Auguſtus Cæſar divided part of Belgic Gaul into two provinces, diſtinguiſhed by the names of Upper and Lower Germany. Many of the new ſettlers in thoſe parts were originally Germans, and, when the whole country was reduced under ſubjection to the Roman empire, the people, unwilling to paſs for natives of Gaul, ſtill retained their original name. Thoſe two provinces called the Upper and Lower Germany, being, in fact, part of Gaul, are not compriſed in the account given by Tacitus. He ſpeaks of ancient Germany, called Germania Antiqua, or Barbara; of Germany on the eaſtern ſide of the Rhine, Germania Tranſrhenana; bounded, on the weſt by the Rhine; on the ſouth, by the Danube; on the eaſt, by the Viſtula, or Weiſſel, and the mountains of Sarmatia; and finally by the Northern Ocean, including the Baltic, and the gulfs of Bothnia and Finland.

(*b*) Gaul, according to Cæſar, was divided into three parts, namely, 1. Belgic Gaul, bounded by the Seine, the Marne, the mountains of Vauge, the Rhine, and the Ocean. 2dly, Celtic Gaul, bounded by the Ocean, the Seine, the Marne, the Soane, the Rhone, and the Garonne. 3dly, Aquitania, bounded by the Atlantic Ocean, the Garonne, and the Pyrenees.

Rhætia was bounded towards the eaſt by the Alps; by Italy towards the ſouth; by the Rhine on the weſt; and by the country of the Vindelici towards the north. It is now the country of the Griſons.

Pannonia was an extenſive country, having Dalmatia on the ſouth, Illyricum on the weſt, Mæſia

Mæſia on the eaſt, and the Danube on the north. And thus, as Tacitus ſays, Germany is divided from Gaul by the Rhine, and from Rhætia and Pannonia by the Danube.

(*c*) Dacia, in a ſhort time after Tacitus wrote this treatiſe, was reduced by the emperor Trajan to a Roman province. It lay on the other ſide of the Danube, extending northward to the Carpathian mountains, compriſing part of Upper Hungary, Tranſylvania, Walachia, and Moldavia.

Sarmatia was formerly divided into European and Aſiatic. The European diviſion is here intended by Tacitus. It had the Viſtula, or Weiſſel, and a chain of mountains, for its weſtern boundary, and extended to the northern parts of Europe, compriſing Livonia, Lithuania, Ruſſia, and Crim Tartary.

The mountains, which in part divided theſe nations from Germany, are now called the Carpathian mountains, running between Poland, Hungary, and Tranſylvania.

(*d*) The Baltic Sea was, probably, thought in the time of Tacitus to be the Northern Ocean. The deep gulfs were thoſe of Bothnia and Finland. Sweden, Norway, and Finland, were anciently called Scandinavia, and ſuppoſed by the Romans to be a large iſland.

(*e*) Before the expeditions of Druſus and his ſon Germanicus, the Romans had not pierced far into Germany. Druſus, A. U. C. 744, advanced with his fleet as far as the promontory of the Cimbrians, who inhabited the country now called Jutland. Tacitus wrote his treatiſe about one hundred and eight years afterwards, and not leſs than eighty years after the war in Germany under the conduct of Germanicus. That commander carried his victorious arms into parts

of the country unexplored before. It is probable that ſome further diſcoveries were made in the time of Domitian.

(*f*) The Rhætian Alps are now called the Mountains of the Griſons; that, in particular, from which the Rhine iſſues, is called Vogelberg. This celebrated river flows in one regular channel, embracing a few ſmall iſlands in its courſe, till it reaches the iſland of the Batavians, where it divides itſelf into two branches, one waſhing the eaſtern ſide of Germany, and the other forming the boundary of Gaul. For a further account of this river, ſee *Annals*, ii. ſ. 6. See alſo this tract, ſ. 29. and note (*a*).

(*g*) The mountain Abnoba is called by the Germans Schwartzwald, and by the French the Black Foreſt, la Forêt Noire. Brotier (to whoſe learned labours this work is greatly indebted) refers to the volumes of Count Marſili, who diſcovered the fountain-head of the Danube and the Rhine in 1702. Before that time Doneſchingen was erroneouſly called the fountain-head of the Danube. That famous river, from its firſt ſpring as far as Vienna, retained the name of the Danube; but according to Pliny, as ſoon as it reached ILLYRICUM, and thence to its mouth, where it diſcharges itſelf into the Euxine, or Black Sea, it was called the Iſter. Brotier adds, that the Danube preſerves its courſe through the Euxine into the Mediterranean, diſtinguiſhed all the way by the clearneſs of the current; and the ſhips, he ſays, from the Ægean Sea (now the Archipelago) as far as the Propontic (the Sea of Marmora), can with difficulty make head againſt the force of ſo rapid a ſtream. For this fact he quotes the Letters of a Miſſioner of the Jeſuits, publiſhed in 1713. Pliny the elder has left a ſimilar account. He ſays, *Singula Iſtri ora tanta*

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ta ſunt, ut prodatur in quadraginta millia paſſuum vinci mare, dulcemque intelligi hauſtum. See Pliny, lib. iv. ſ. 24.

Section II.

(*a*) The inhabitants of every nation, that had no literary monuments, were by the ancients deemed the immediate offspring of the ſoil. The world is now better informed. Aſia is conſidered as the country where the numbers of mankind multiplied with rapid increaſe, and thence overflowing into Scythia, peopled the northern regions of Europe. Under which of the ſons of Noah that vaſt migration was formed, it is now fruitleſs to inquire. Antiquarians have amuſed themſelves with ſyſtems founded on vain opinions, and, having no hiſtorical records, they have wandered in a maze of wild conjecture, without contributing to the ſtock of real knowledge.

(*b*) In this paſſage a miſtake ſeems to be juſtly imputed to Tacitus. The firſt migrations could not be made by ſea in thoſe early ages, when the uſe of ſhipping was little known. As ſoon as population increaſed in Aſia, the redundant multitude went forth in queſt of new ſettlements, and poured into Scythia, Sarmatia, Hungary, and Poland, and thence into Germany. When navigation began to be in ſome degree underſtood, colonies were tranſplanted by ſea. It was by ſea that Cecrops conveyed his people from Ægypt into Greece, and it was in the ſame manner that the Phœnicians tranſported their colonies to the coaſt of Africa. But migrations muſt have been made before thoſe events, and the northern

northern parts of Europe were peopled long before.

(*c*) In the time of Tacitus, a voyage from Italy to the Northern Ocean would have been an enterprise too wild and daring. Drusus, the father of Germanicus, was the first Roman commander who ventured to explore those seas. *Oceanum septentrionalem primus Romanorum ducum navigavit*, says Suetonius, Life of Claudius, s. 1.; but it is not pretended that he sailed from Italy. His voyage, without doubt, began from some port of Gaul or Germany, and reached the point of Jutland. His son Germanicus, many years after, made the same attempt, but with great difficulty and danger. See *Annals*, ii. s. 23.

(*d*) This is by no means a satisfactory reason for the position advanced by Tacitus, namely, that the Germans were the indigenous offspring of the soil. In those remote ages, when the numbers of one nation overflowed into another, the object was not the most delightful country, but the safest habitation. Asia, Italy, and some parts of Africa afforded delightful spots; but to men who could not find a settlement in those regions, even Germany, which appears so horrid to Tacitus, was not without its conveniences. The people escaped from oriental despotism, and lived in freedom. A freehold, says Addison, though it be but in ice and snow, will make the owner pleased with the possession, and stout in the defence of it. Germany was the land of liberty and heroic fortitude. What men lost of their sensual gratifications, they gained in virtue: as Brotier expresses it, *Si quid decessit voluptati, accrevit humanitati.*

(*e*) Songs and rude poetry have been in all savage countries the memorials of public transactions.

actions. Kings and heroes were the poets and hiſtorians of the Scythian, the Celtic, and the northern nations. Saxo Grammaticus and other writers inform us, that they drew their materials from Runic ſongs, or Icelandic poetry. The Gauls had their druids, the prieſts and philoſophers of the nation, who preſerved their doctrine by oral tradition and verſes committed to memory only. The Germans had their BARDS, who in their ſongs recorded all public tranſactions, and ſung the praiſes of their warriors and illuſtrious men. At all feaſts and public aſſemblies the bards were the panegyriſts of exalted merit. The ſame was the caſe in Britain, Wales, and Ireland. The ſongs of the bards were the prelude to battle; they inſpired the chiefs with enthuſiaſtic ardour. When Edward I. formed the plan of reducing Wales to ſubjection, he thought it neceſſary to deſtroy all the bards. The Scandinavians had their poets, or SCALDS, whoſe buſineſs it was to compoſe odes or ſongs, in which they celebrated the warlike achievements of their anceſtors. The praiſes which thoſe poets gave to valour, the enthuſiaſm which animated their verſes, and the care which the people took to learn them from their infancy, all conſpired to rouze the martial ſpirit of their armies. *Mallet's Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 223. The American ſavages have their war-ſongs and rude poetry, in which they ſing the praiſes of the gallant chiefs, who have fought or died for their country. Garcilaſſo de la Vega ſays, that, in writing his Hiſtory of Peru, he availed himſelf of old ſongs and ballads, which a princeſs of the race of their *Incas* taught him to get by heart in his infancy. Tacitus tells us, that Arminius, long after his death, was remembered in the rude ſongs of his country. See

Annals,

Annals, ii. f. 81. Some of thoſe ſongs, or brief chronicles of the times, were dug up in German monaſteries in the beginning of the ſixteenth century. CHARLEMAGNE, according to Eginhard, the hiſtorian of that warlike prince, compoſed verſes in the rude ſtyle of that age, commemorating the wars and brave exploits of the German chiefs. He is ſaid to have carried with him into France a large collection of thoſe ancient ballads, which he ordered to be tranſlated into Latin. But thoſe records are now no where to be found.

(*f*) Various opinions have been advanced by antiquarians concerning the name of TUISTO. Some aſſert that it means the creator of the world; and that MANNUS, which is MAN with a Latin termination, relates to Adam. Others will have it, that TUISTO is the ſame as TEUTATES, a Scythian or Celtic king; and much learning has been laid out upon the ſubject. It is too often the fate of learned commentators to open a wide field for diſcuſſion, in which men of ſober ſenſe refuſe to follow them. It is ſufficient that Tuiſto was the moſt ancient deity of the Germans and Scandinavians, long before the worſhip of Odin was eſtabliſhed. See Monſieur Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. chap. 6; and this Tract, f. 43, note (*f*).

(*g*) We have here, in three grand diviſions, a general geographical deſcription of Germany. The commentators inform us that they have found compound words in the German language, ſignifying, firſt, the inhabitants of the maritime parts; 2dly, inhabitants of the midland country; 3dly, inhabitants of the eaſt; and thoſe words correſpond with the three appellations, which the Romans ſoftened into their own idiom. There was anciently another diviſion of Germany,

many, perhaps more satisfactory. 1. Germany between the Rhine and the Elbe, *inter Rhenum et Albim*; 2. between the Elbe and the Weissel, *inter Albim et Vistulam*; 3. Southern Germany, *Germania Australis*, between the Rhine and the Danube. 4. Germany beyond the Weissel, *Germania Transvistulana*. 5. Germany beyond sea, and the islands of the Baltic; *Germania Transmarina et Insulæ*. Pliny the Elder enumerates five German nations not materially different from the last description. He says, *Germanorum genera quinque*. 1. *Vindili, quorum pars Burgundiones, Varini, Carini, Guttones.* 2. *Alterum genus Ingævones, quorum pars Cimbri, Teutoni, ac Chaucorum gentes.* 3. *Proximi autem Rheno Istævones, quorum pars Cimbri Mediterranei.* 4. *Hermiones, quorum Suevi, Hermunduri, Catti, Cherusci.* 5. *Quinta pars, Peucini, Basternæ, Contermini Dacci.* Plin. lib. iv. s. 28, 14.

(*h*) The Gambrivians are mentioned by Tacitus in this place only.

(*i*) The Vandals are the same as the *Vindili* mentioned by Pliny; a brave and warlike race, who afterwards over-ran Gaul, Spain, and Italy, and were finally destroyed in Africa.

(*k*) Lipsius is of opinion that this passage will ever be the torment of the commentators. But the difficulty does not seem to be insurmountable. Tacitus says, that the first emigrants from the other side of the Rhine who entered Gaul, and dispossessed the natives, were in his time called Tungrians; but when they undertook their expedition, to strike their enemies with terror, *ob metum*, they called themselves GERMANS. The word, of course, implied something formidable, and, by adverting to the etymology, it receives the following construction. *Gehr*, or *Wehr*, signifies war. From that root the French have

have derived their word *guerre*. *Man* in the German tongue implied the ſame as it does now in that country and in England. Hence we find, that the firſt invaders, *ob metum*, to ſpread a general alarm, called themſelves Germans, or *warlike men*. That ſuch migrations were made into Gaul is evident from Julius Cæſar. In the ſecond book of his Gallic Wars, ſ. 4, he relates that, on enquiry, he found that the Belgians were for the moſt part Germans originally, who had been drawn by the fertility of the country to ſettle in thoſe parts, and, during the irruption of the Teutones and Cimbri, were the only people, of all the provinces of Gaul, that reſiſted thoſe fierce Barbarians, and never ſufferd them to ſet foot in their territories. The name of GERMANS, aſſumed by thoſe who croſſed over into Gaul, was in proceſs of time adopted by all the nations on the eaſt ſide of the Rhine, and in Cæſar's time was the eſtabliſhed appellation of the whole country. The region which the Tungrians inhabited, *Brotier* ſays, was what the French call *L'ancien Diocèſe de Tongres*, and it is remarkable that the ſame territory was occupied by the Franks, when under the conduct of Pharamond, they made their irruption into France, and from that time gave their name to the whole country.

(*l*) Beſides the fabulous Hercules, the ſon of Jupiter and Alcmena, there was, in ancient times, no warlike nation that did not boaſt of its own particular HERCULES. La Bletterie, the ingenious tranſlator of a conſiderable part of Tacitus, mentions a learned antiquarian (Monſ. Freret) who ſuppoſed, not without great probability, that ſome German chief of great renown in arms was called *Her-Koul*, *Belli Caput*, the head of a victorious army. *Her-koul* would eaſily be chang-

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ed by the Romans into HERCULES. However that may be, we find in Tacitus an entire foreſt beyond the *Viſurgis*, or the *Weſer*, ſacred to Hercules. See Annals, ii. ſ. 12. The warriors ruſhing to battle ſung his praiſe, as we find that, in their ballads, they afterwards celebrated Arminius. See Annals, ii. ſ. 88. Several learned men have clearly proved that the word HERCULES was a name given to all the leaders of colonies, who came out of Aſia to ſettle in Greece, Italy, and Spain. *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 91.

Section III.

(*a*) The commentators are much at variance about the reading of the original word to expreſs the recitation of the German poets. Some of them contend for *barritus*, inſtead of *barditus*; for *barrire*, they ſay, ſignifies the cry or roar of an elephant. Horace uſes the word *barrus* for an elephant, *Mulier nigris digniſſima barris*; Epod. 12. But Lipſius obſerves, that elephants were not known in Germany. This diſpute about a word ſeems to be, as is uſually the caſe, of little or no importance, ſince it is evident that the poets of Germany and Britain were called BARDS, and therefore *barditus* is, probably, the true reading. Lucan, book i. ver. 447, deſcribes the office of the *bard*, and gives him that very name:

> Vos quoque, qui fortes animas, belloque peremptas
> Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis ævum,
> Plurima ſecuri fudiſtis carmina BARDI.

The ſtrains of verſe which the bards poured forth in their fits of enthuſiaſm, inflamed the German

German and the Britiſh warriors with heroic fortitude. Perhaps nothing contributed more to make thoſe nations ſtand at bay for ſuch a length of time with the whole power of the Romans. The ſoldier ſaid to the bard, "Come, and ſee "me fighting for my country; ſee me bleed, "if the fate of war will have it ſo; and if I "die, be ſure to record my memory." This was the ambition of the northern nations. Lipſius obſerves, that it was the ſame with the firſt inhabitants of Spain, and for his purpoſe cites the following paſſage:

———————ritu jam moris Iberi
Carmina pulſatâ fundentem barbara cetrâ.

The war-ſong of the Canadians and the northern ſavages of America, has been mentioned in the books of all travellers in that part of the world. Charlevoix has given a full account of this wild preparation for battle, and Dr. Robertſon has quoted the very words of an Indian war-ſong: "I go to revenge the death of my bro-"thers; I ſhall kill, I ſhall exterminate, I ſhall "burn my enemies: I ſhall bring away ſlaves; "I ſhall devour their heart, dry their fleſh, and "drink their blood; I ſhall tear off their ſcalps, "and make cups of their ſkulls." The terms of a German war-ſong have not reached poſterity. The collection by Charlemagne is totally loſt. In thoſe pieces we ſhould, undoubtedly, have ſeen ſtrong marks of ferocity; but the ſpirit of revenge that could eat the fleſh of priſoners taken in battle, was unknown in Germany. The Scandinavians, when they were going to join battle, raiſed great ſhouts, claſhed their arms together, invoked the name of ODIN, and ſung hymns in his praiſe. *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 237.

(*b*) Doctor

(*b*) Doctor Aikin has ſelected a paſſage from the life of Sir Ewen Cameron, which happily illuſtrates the ancient German opinion concerning the prophetic ſpirit of the war-ſong. At the battle of Killicrankie, juſt before the fight began, Sir Ewen commanded ſuch of the Camerons as were poſted near him to make a great ſhout, which being ſeconded by thoſe who ſtood on the right and left, ran quickly through the whole army, and was returned by the enemy. But the noiſe of the muſkets and cannon, with the echoing of the hills, made the Highlanders fancy that their ſhouts were louder and briſker than thoſe of the enemy; and Lochiel cried out: "Gentlemen, take courage, the day is ours: I "am the oldeſt commander in the army, and "have always obſerved ſomething ominous and "fatal in ſuch a dull, hollow, and feeble noiſe "as the enemy made in their ſhout; which prog-"noſticates, that they are all doomed to die by "our hands this night; whereas ours was briſk, "lively, and ſtrong, and ſhews that we have "vigour and courage." The event juſtified the prediction; the Highlanders obtained a complete victory.

(*c*) The love of fabulous hiſtory, which was the paſſion of ancient times, produced a new Hercules in every country, and made Ulyſſes wander in every ſea. Tacitus mentions it as a romantic tale, but Strabo ſeems willing to countenance the fiction, and, for that purpoſe, gravely tells us that Ulyſſes founded a city, called Odyſſey, in Spain. Lipſius obſerves, that Liſbon, in the time of Strabo, had the appellation of *Ulyſſipo*, or *Oliſipo*. He adds, that another learned antiquarian, from an altar-piece which was found in Caledonia, with an inſcription in Greek letters, inferred that Ulyſſes, in the courſe of

of his voyages, landed on the coaſt of Scotland. To explode theſe idle reveries Lipſius pleaſantly ſays, at this rate, what ſhould hinder us inhabitants of the Low Countries from aſſerting that Ulyſſes built the city of *Ulyſſinga* in the province of Zeland, and that *Circè* founded that of *Circæa* or *Ziriczèe* ?

(*d*) Inſcriptions on ſtone, marble, or braſs, though cut in Greek characters, are a bad ſupport of the ſyſtems advanced by theoretical writers. Tacitus has ſhewn, *Annals*, xi. ſ. 14, that the uſe of alphabetical letters paſſed from the Phœnicians into Greece, and from Greece into Italy and Gaul, particularly to Marſeilles. Cæſar relates, b. i. ſ. 21, that a roll was found in the Helvetian camp, WRITTEN IN GREEK CHARACTERS, and containing a liſt of all (including old men, women, and children) who had ſet out in the expedition againſt the Roman army. In book vi. ſ. 13, he expreſsly ſays that the Druids did not commit their ſtatutes to writing, but in all other matters made uſe of Greek characters. Thoſe characters paſſed from Gaul into Germany, where Count Marſili and others have found ſeveral monuments with Greek inſcriptions. The communication that ſubſiſted between the druids of Gaul and thoſe of Britain, would eaſily convey the art of writing into this iſland.

Section IV.

(*a*) This wonderful ſimilitude throughout the whole race has been remarked by various authors. Juvenal has mentioned their yellow hair, their blue eyes, and other circumſtances that made the whole nation appear to be one family.

Cærula

Cærula quis ſtupuit Germani Lumina? flavam
Cæſariem, et madido torque ntem cornua cirro?
Nempe quod hæc illis natura eſt omnibus una.
13th Sat. v. 164.

Sidonius Apollinaris ſays, that, being in Germany, and finding the men ſo very tall, he could not addreſs verſes of ſix feet to patrons who were ſeven feet high.

Spernit ſenipedem ſtylum Thalia,
Ex quo ſeptipedes vidit patronos.

Section V.

(*a*) Noricum was bounded towards the north by the Danube, on the eaſt by Pannonia, on the ſouth by a range of the Alps, and on the weſt by the country of the Vindelici. It contained a great part of Auſtria and Bavaria.

(*b*) The Germans attended to nothing but the production of corn. Their country, like Canada, was covered over with immenſe tracts of foreſt, and, till the ground was cleared, and the cold, by conſequence, abated of its rigour, cultivation could not be carried on with any kind of advantage.

(*c*) Notwithſtanding what is here ſaid, we find, *Annals*, xi. ſ. 20, that Curtius Rufus opened a ſilver mine in the territory of the Mattiaci, now ſubject to the landgrave of Heſſe; but it was ſoon exhauſted.

(*d*) The Romans began to coin ſilver A. U. C. 485. Their gold coin began in the year 587. On all their money, Victory was ſeen in a triumphant car, driving ſometimes two horſes, and ſometimes four. Hence their pieces were called *bigati*, or *quadrigati*. See Pliny, book xxxiii. ſ. 3. The

3. The coin was indented round the edges like a ſaw, *ſerra*, and, for that reaſon, called *ſerrati*. Brotier ſays, he has ſeen ſeveral pieces of this old coin in the college-library of Lewis the Fourteenth. Pliny tells us, that the Romans ſoon began to debaſe their coin, and to mix an alloy of braſs with their ſilver. The emperors ſtill debaſed it more. The Germans in all their money-dealings ſuſpected fraud, and therefore preferred the coin of the republic, ſuch as had a car with two or four horſes, and the edge indented. The antiquarians have employed much learning on the ſubject; but the above ſhort account (ſuggeſted by Brotier and La Bletterie) ſeems to be the true ſolution of the difficulty.

(*e*) It is remarkable that the Romans always exacted from the conquered nations a tribute of ſilver. Pliny the Elder wonders at the fact, and adds, that, when Hannibal was overthrown, and Carthage reduced to ſubjection, the Romans demanded an annual tribute of ſilver for the term of fifty years; but they made no mention of gold. See Pliny, book xxxiii. f. 13, and 15.

Section VI.

(*a*) Abundance of iron was to be found in the bowels of the earth; but to extract it, to ſoften it by fire, and render it pliant and malleable, required more ſkill and patience than conſiſted with the rough genius of a ſavage race. Accordingly ſwords and javelins were not much in uſe. A ſpear tipt with iron, in their language called, as Brotier informs us, *friem*, or *priem*, was their weapon in almoſt all the battles recorded by Tacitus. From the word *friem* the Roman writer eaſily made the term *framea*, more conſonant to

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the *idiom* of the Latin language. It appears in the *Annals*, book ii. f. 14, that thoſe inſtruments of war were of an enormous ſize, and unwieldy in cloſe engagement. The number was not ſufficient to arm more than the front line of their army. The reſt carried ſhort darts or clubs hardened by fire. In general, pointed ſtones were prefixed to their weapons, and many of theſe, Brotier ſays, have been diſcovered in German ſepulchres. The *fram* of King Childeric was found on opening his monument.

(*b*) The only covering of a German was a ſhort mantle. Their ſoldiers, for the moſt part, were naked. All, however, were curious in the embelliſhment of their ſhields, which we find, *Annals*, ii. f. 14, were not made of iron, but of ozier twigs interwoven, or of thin boards decorated with gaudy colours. Theſe ſhields were the delight of the German ſoldiers. They were, at firſt, the enſigns of valour, and afterwards of nobility. The warlike chief made it his ſtudy to adorn his ſhield with variegated colours and the figures of animals, to diſtinguiſh his own martial proweſs; and what in the beginning was merely perſonal, became in time hereditary. Hence what we now call coats of arms peculiar to the deſcendants of particular families; and hence the origin of heraldry. The ſhield of a German was his only protection in the heat of an engagement. Breaſt-plates were worn by a few only. The head-piece was of two ſorts; one made of metal, to which the Romans gave the name of *caſſis*; the ſecond of leather, called *galea*. It is true, that Plutarch, in the Life of Marius, giving an account of the irruption of the Cimbri, deſcribes their helmets formed like the heads of ferocious animals, with high-plumed creſts. He alſo mentions their iron breaſt-plates. But this warlike apparatus was moſt

probably, acquired during their march into Italy. Vegetius wonders by what fatality it happened, that the Romans, after having experienced the advantage of their armour during a ſpace of twelve hundred years, from the foundation of Rome to the reign of Gratian, ſhould at length abandon their ancient diſcipline, and, by laying aſide their breaſt-plates and their helmets, put themſelves on a level with the barbarians, who inſulted them in every quarter. By this alteration they left themſelves and the empire obnoxious to their enemies. See Vegetius, lib. i. cap. 11, f. 12.

(*c*) The Roman art of managing the war-horſe is beautifully deſcribed by Virgil, 3 *Georg.* v. 182. The reader who deſires to know the ſkill with which the Romans vaulted on their horſes and leaped off again, will find it at large in Vegetius, lib. i. cap. 18.

(*d*) The German manner of intermixing the foot ſoldiers with the cavalry is deſcribed by Julius Cæſar. Arioviſtus, he ſays, had about ſix thouſand horſemen, who choſe a like number out of the foot, each his man, all remarkable for ſtrength and agility. Theſe accompanied the cavalry in battle, and ſerved as a rear-guard. If the action became dangerous, they advanced to the relief of the troops. If any horſeman was wounded, and fell to the ground, they gathered round to defend him. If ſpeed was required, either for haſty purſuit or ſudden retreat, they were ſo nimble and alert by continual exerciſe, that, laying hold of the manes of the horſes, they could keep pace with their ſwifteſt motion. Cæſar *de Bell. Gall.* lib. i. f. 48.

(*e*) Germany was divided into ſtates or communities, each ſtate into cantons, and each canton into hundreds, or a hundred families. So

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the Suevians were divided, according to Cæſar, book iv. ſ. 1. The Swiſs at this day are divided into cantons. The diviſion into hundreds was introduced into England by our Saxon anceſtors. The hundreders in this country were a civil eſtabliſhment; whereas in Germany they were a military inſtitution, being ſo many ſelect men, whoſe duty it was to mix with the cavalry in battle; and, therefore, in that country hundreder was a title of honour.

(*f*) The word wedge, importing a body of men drawn up in that form, is a known military term. The ranks are wide in the rear, but leſſen by degrees, and ſharpen to a point in front, the better to break through the lines of the enemy. The practice was univerſally in uſe among the Germans, and, accordingly, in the Hiſtory of Tacitus, b. iv. ſ. 16, we find Civilis drawing up the Friſians, the Caninefates, and his own countrymen the Batavians, in three different wedges. Whoever has a mind to read more on this ſubject, will find a diſſertation in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*, 4to. edit. vol. xxv. p. 440.

(*g*) To bring off his ſlaughtered comrades, in order to bury their bodies, was a point of honour with the German warrior; and to leave his ſhield on the field of battle was the moſt flagitious crime. It continued to be ſo ſeveral years after the time Tacitus ſpeaks of, ſince we find that a heavy fine was impoſed by the Salic law on him who falſely accuſed another of that heinous offence. *Si quis ingenuus homo alio improperaverit, quod ſcutum ſuum jactaſſet, et in fuga lapſus fuiſſet, et non potuerit adprobare, D. C. den. culpabilis judicetur.* See the Salic Laws, tit. xxxiii. cap. 5.

Section VII.

(*a*) The text in this place ſeems perfectly clear, though various writers, fond of a particular hypotheſis, have endeavoured to perplex it. Some of thoſe ingenious authors contend, that the kings in Germany were hereditary, and the general officers elective. But Tacitus ſays, *ſumunt*, they take or chooſe, and he applies the word to kings as well as commanders in chief. Hence it may be fairly inferred, that in the election of kings they had regard to the nobility of an ancient race; but ſtill they choſe them. They choſe, perhaps, out of certain families, and gave the preference to the iſſue of the deceaſed king: but it does not appear that they were bound by any law of inheritance. In Cæſar's account of the Germans there are ſome paſſages that ſeem to claſh with Tacitus, or at leaſt to create a difficulty. Germany, however, was new to Cæſar: he did not penetrate far into the country; and though a mind like his would take a wide ſurvey of his ſubject, it cannot be ſuppoſed that, with all his accuracy, he gained complete information. He tells us, the Germans make choice of a chief to conduct their wars, and arm him with power of life and death: but in time of peace there is no public magiſtrate, all deciſions being made by the leading men in their ſeveral diſtricts. *Cum bellum civitas aut illatum defendit, aut infert, magiſtratus, qui ei bello præſint, et vitæ neciſque habeant poteſtatem, diliguntur. In pace nullus eſt communis magiſtratus, ſed principes regionum atque pagorum inter ſuos jus dicunt, controverſiaſque minuunt.* Book vi. ſ. 22. This may ſeem to imply that there was no king to rule over them. But this could not be Cæſar's meaning: he

he was well acquainted with Arioviſtus, the German king, who made an irruption into Gaul. We ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this tract, that, in ſome places towards the north, the kings were arbitrary; in others their authority was limited. If they happened to be diſtinguiſhed by their exploits in war, the nation was willing to take the field under their auſpices; if not, they choſe a commander famous for his martial ſpirit. We read in Tacitus (*Hiſtory*, iv. ſ. 15.) the manner of chooſing a general: he was placed on a ſhield, and carried on the ſhoulders of the men, amidſt the ſhouts and acclamations of the army. Gregory de Tours informs us, that kings among the Franks were choſen in the ſame manner. His words are. *Plaudentes tam parmis quam vocibus* CLODOVECHUM *clypeo evectum ſuper ſe regem conſtituunt.* Lib. ii. ſ. 40. The celebrated Abbé Vertot, in his Parallel between the Manners of the Germans and the Franks, who founded the French monarchy, finds in the election of a chief to preſide in war, the origin of the *maires du palais*, who, at one time, had ſo much weight and power throughout France. The Franks, he ſays, after the example of their German anceſtors, reſerved the right of chooſing their generals, and the king was bound to confirm his authority. Occaſionally they choſe their king to lead them to the field of battle. Clovis is a proof of this fact. He united in himſelf the royal prerogative, and the authority of commander in chief. Under Clotaire, the ſecond king of the weſtern part of France, the elective general, or *maire du palais*, was ſuppreſſed, but ſoon revived again under the following monarchs. In the reign of Clovis II. the people continued to chooſe their commanders in chief, and that extraordinary power was exerciſed in a manner

manner wholly independent of the ſovereign, and often dangerous to his title. See Vertot's Diſſertation, *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Letters*, 4to. edit. vol. ii. p. 627. It will not be improper to inſert here the ſubſtance of Monteſquieu's opinion on this ſubject:—A government, under which a nation, who had a king on the throne, elected an officer inveſted with all the powers of royalty, muſt be thought an extraordinary phænomenon in politics: but, upon enquiry, it will be found that the Franks, who eſtabliſhed the French monarchy, derived their notions of government from an ancient ſource. They were deſcended from the Germans, who in the choice of a king were determined by his nobility, and in that of their leader by his valour. Here we behold the kings of the firſt race, and the mayors of the palace. No doubt but ſome of the princes, who with a martial ſpirit offered to conduct a warlike enterpriſe, were accepted by the voice of the people, and, being thus confirmed, they exerciſed both the royal and military power. But thoſe two branches of authority were often ſeparated. In order thoroughly to underſtand the genius of the Franks, we need only to recollect the conduct of Arbogaſtes, a Frank by nation, to whom Valentinian committed the command of his army. He confined the prince in his own palace, and ſuffered no man to confer with him on the ſubject of affairs civil or military. *Spirit of Laws*, book xxxi. chap. 4. The ſavage tribes of America often afford a ſtriking reſemblance of German manners; and accordingly we read in Charlevoix, The army has often at its head the chief of the nation or town; but he muſt firſt have diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſome ſignal action of bravery; if not, he is obliged to ſerve as a ſubaltern.

See

See his *Journal of a Voyage to North America*, letter xviii.

(*b*) Cæsar says, that Ambiorix, king of the Eburones, a German nation, described his authority so limited, that, though he governed, the people in their turn gave laws to the prince. *Sua esse ejusmodi imperia, ut non minus haberet juris in se multitudo, quam ipse in multitudinem.* *De Bell. Gall.* lib. v. s. 27. We read in Vertot, that the Franks, when they passed over the Rhine and settled in Gaul, carried with them the same ideas of government. Their kings were invested with high authority, but were, at the same time, restrained by laws which they did not dare to violate. As a proof of this, he tells us that Clovis, having gained a victory over Syagrius, the Roman general, wanted to present to a bishop a sacred vase, which had been taken in the pillage of the town: but one of the Franks, a soldier of a fierce and independent spirit, struck the cup with his battle-axe, declaring with ferocity, that the plunder must be shared by lot, and the king himself had no better right. *Nihil hinc accipies, nisi quæ tibi sors vera largitur.* See Vertot's Dissertation, *Memoires de l'Academie des Belles Lettres*, vol. ii. p. 627. See also Dr. Robertson's *Charles V.* 8vo. edit. vol. i. p. 254. The same spirit of independence prevails among the North-American savages. See Charlevoix, *Voyage to North-America*, letter xviii.

(*c*) The commander in chief had the power of adjudging, but the punishment was inflicted by the priests, who according to Cæsar, book vi. s. 20, were not of the order of the Druids. It followed, by consequence, that the general met with less ill-will, and the execution was beheld with reverential awe. La Bletterie observes,

obſerves, that in modern times the ſtroke of juſtice, committed always to the baſe and profligate, is well-nigh rendered odious. The ancient Germans ſeem to have been of opinion, that the life of man, whenever taken away, ſhould be a ſacrifice to the Deity. It is not probable that the ferocity of the people would tamely ſubmit to the ſeverity of human inſtitutions.

(*d*) The figures of ſavage animals were deemed religious ſymbols; ſee Tacitus, *Hiſt.* b. iv. ſ. 12. It was alſo a cuſtom to depoſit the ſtandards taken from the enemy in their ſacred groves, *Annals*, b. i. ſ. 59. Theſe they carried with them to their wars. In like manner the Canadians have ſymbolic figures of their gods, which they call their *Manitous*. They take care, when going to battle, to carry with them thoſe objects of ſuperſtition, and would as ſoon forget their arms. Charlevoix, letter xiv.

(*e*) The Germans felt themſelves inflamed with enthuſiaſtic ardour, when their wives and children ſurveyed the field of battle. Many inſtances of this occur in Tacitus. See *Hiſtory*, b. iv. ſ. 18. In the engagement between Cæſar and Arioviſtus, the Germans encompaſſed their whole army with a line of carriages, in order to take away all hopes of ſafety by flight; and their women, mounted upon thoſe carriages, weeping and tearing their hair, conjured the ſoldiers, as they advanced to battle, not to ſuffer them to become ſlaves to the Romans. Cæſar, b. i. ſ. 51. The Britons, under the conduct of Boadicea, prepared for the deciſive action in the ſame manner. *Annals*, b. xiv. ſ. 34. Galgacus, in his ſpeech before the laſt battle for liberty, tells the Caledonians, that the advantage of having wives and children was on their ſide, whereas the Romans had no ſuch pledges to excite

excite their valour. *Life of Agricola*, ſ. 32. The manners of ancient chivalry ſeem to be derived from this German origin. The fair helped to diſarm the knight returning from his adventures; they praiſed his valour, and dreſſed his wounds. See a diſſertation on this ſubject, *Memoires de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres*, vol. xx.

Section VIII.

(*a*) We have in Florus a lively deſcription of the undaunted courage with which the German women oppoſed the enemy in the day of battle. After ſtating the victory obtained by Marius over the Cimbri, the hiſtorian ſays, that the conflict was not leſs fierce and obſtinate with the wives of the vanquiſhed. In their carts and waggons they formed a line of battle, and from their elevated ſituation, as from ſo many turrets, annoyed the Romans with their poles and lances. Their death was as glorious as their martial ſpirit. Finding that all was loſt, they ſent a deputation to Marius, deſiring that they might be at liberty to enrol themſelves in a religious order. Their requeſt, in its nature impracticable, being refuſed, they ſtrangled their children, and either deſtroyed themſelves in one ſcene of mutual ſlaughter, or, with the ſaſhes that bound up their hair, hung ſuſpended by the neck on the boughs of trees, or the top of their waggons. Florus, book iii. ch. 3. See alſo Valerius Maximus, book vi. ch. 1. That the women were eſteemed by the German nations as their deareſt pledges, is confirmed by Suetonius, who relates, that Auguſtus Cæſar demanded from the conquered tribes a new ſort of hoſtages, namely, their women; becauſe he found, by

by experience, that they did not much regard their male hoſtages. Sueton. *Life of Auguſtus*, ſ. 21.

(*b*) Plutarch, in his Treatiſe on the virtues of the Female Sex, relates, that a diſpute aroſe among the tribes of Celtic emigrants, before they paſſed over the Alps, ſo fierce and violent, that nothing but the deciſion of the ſword could end the quarrel. The Celtic women on that occaſion ruſhed between the two armies, and determined the queſtion with ſuch good ſenſe, that the Celtic nations ever after made it their practice to call women to their conſultations about peace and war. When Julius Cæſar enquired of the priſoners why Arioviſtus declined an engagement, he found that it was the cuſtom among the Germans for the women to decide by lots and divinations, whether it was proper to hazard a battle, and that they had declared againſt coming to action before the new moon. Cæſar, book i. ſ. 50. Strabo relates, that among the Cimbrian women, who followed their huſbands in the invaſion of Italy, there were ſeveral who had the gift of prophecy, and marched bare-footed in the midſt of the lines, diſtinguiſhed by their grey hairs, and milk-white linen robes. Strabo, book vii. Tacitus in his hiſtory obſerves that moſt of the German women were conſidered as propheteſſes, and, in particular, that *Veleda* was worſhipped as a goddeſs. *Hiſt.* book iv. ſ. 61, and 65. La Bletterie obſerves, that, till the final extinction of paganiſm, the ſame ſuperſtition prevailed in Gaul, and that a number of matrons, or druidical virgins, foretold, when the emperor Alexander was on the point of ſetting out on his expedition againſt Germany, that he would never return. We are further told by Pomponius Mela, that, in an iſland

iſland on the coaſt of Brittany, there was an ancient oracle where nine virgins attended as prieſteſſes, and iſſued the reſponſes. Beſides their preſcience of futurity, they had the power to impriſon the winds, or by their incantations to raiſe ſtorms and tempeſts. Pomp. Mela, book iii. c. 6. The influence of the Canadian women may be ſeen in Charlevoix. He ſays, to take up the hatchet, is to declare war; and nothing can be ſaid againſt it, unleſs it be among the *Hurons* and *Iroquois*, where the matrons command or prohibit a war, as ſeems good unto them. Charlevoix, letter xiii.

(*a*) Veleda was a propheteſs of the Bructerian nation. She was the oracle of Civilis the Batavian, in his war with the Romans. Cerealis, when he had gained a deciſive victory over that warlike chief, and had nothing ſo much at heart as a general peace, knew the importance of Veleda, and her influence on the German mind. We ſee him, for that reaſon, in the hiſtory of Tacitus, b. v. ſ. 24, endeavouring to draw her over to his intereſt. And yet with all her boaſted knowledge ſhe was blind to her own fate. We learn from Statius, that ſhe was made a captive by Rutilius Gallicus, and obliged to humble herſelf before the emperor Veſpaſian. Hence Tacitus ſays, *vidimus Veledam, we ſaw Veleda.* Statius, after being, in his congratulatory ſtyle, laviſh of his compliments to his friend Rutilius Gallicus, for his great ſucceſs in Aſia and Africa, touches at laſt on his victorious arms in Germany, and the captivity of Veleda.

Non vacat Arctoas acies, Rhenumque rebellem,
Captivæque preces Veledæ, et (quæ maxima nuper
Gloria) depoſitam Dacis pereuntibus urbem
Pandere, Statius Sylv. lib. i. poem. iv. v. 89.

Section

Section IX.

(*a*This) paſſage has afforded a large field of diſcuſſion, in which various writers have expatiated, as fancy, or the love of an hypotheſis, happened to dictate. Cæſar tells us, that the Germans have no druids to preſide in religious affairs; nor do they trouble themſelves about ſacrifices. They acknowledge no gods but thoſe that are objects of ſight, and by whoſe power they are apparently benefited; the ſun, the moon, fire. Of other gods they knew nothing, not even by report. *De Bell. Gall.* b. vi. ſ. 20. On the other hand, the ſame author informs us, that the Gauls worſhipped Mercury as the inventor of all uſeful arts, and the tutelary patron of commerce; and alſo Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva. Book vi. ſ. 16. But if it be true, according to the ſame eminent writer, that the Gauls in ancient times exceeded the Germans in bravery, and often paſſed over the Rhine to wage war in that country, it cannot be ſuppoſed that the Germans never heard of other gods. Mars, we find, was worſhipped by the Gauls; but as he was a Scythian god, as Virgil has it, *Gradivumque patrem, Geticis qui præſidit arvis,* it is highly improbable that a people, who were of Scythian origin, ſhould not have heard of the God of War. It is to be regretted that Cæſar did not give us the Celtic names of the ſeveral deities worſhipped in Gaul, and alſo the names in uſe among the Germans. Harſh as thoſe terms might be, a Latin termination would have ſoftened them into a milder ſound. Thus we have *man* and *herth* changed by Tacitus into MANNUS and HERTHUM. Schedius, *de Diis Germanis* (an author, whoſe elaborate work has been lately put

put into the preſent writer's hands by his excellent and learned friend Dr. Charles Burney), expreſsly ſays, that TEUTATES was the Roman MERCURY, and HESUS, MARS. For his authority he cites Lactantius, book i. c. 21, who obſerves, that the Gauls propitiated thoſe gods by human ſacrifices. *Heſum et Teutaten humano cruore placabant.* Lucan ſpeaks to the ſame purpoſe:

Et quibus immitis placatur ſanguine diro
TEUTATES, horrenſque feris altaribus HESUS.
LUCAN, lib. i. v. 444.

And you, where HESUS' horrid altar ſtands,
And dire TEUTATES human blood demands.
ROWE'S LUCAN.

In ſome reſemblance of the attributes aſcribed to HESUS and TEUTATES, the Greeks and Romans ſaw Mars and Mercury, and thence inferred that their own modes of worſhip extended to barbarous nations. But the natural religion of rude illiterate ages owed its birth to the paſſions and ſuperſtitious fears of an ignorant multitude.

——————tantum terroribus addit
Quos timeant, non noſſe Deos.

The zealous crowds in ignorance adore,
And ſtill, the leſs they know, they fear the more.
ROWE'S LUCAN, book iii.

The idea of one God, the governing mind of the univerſe, was unknown to the Pagan world. The moſt ſavage nations had a notion of an inviſible power; but being left to their own uninſtructed fancy, polytheiſm was the conſequence. They analyſed the Deity, decompounded his eſſence, perſonified his attributes, and made new gods

gods for every thing that they wiſhed or feared. All had a ſenſe of a ſuperior Being; but not being able to aſcribe omnipotence to one God, they multiplied the number, and diſtributed the adminiſtration of the univerſe among various deities, aſſigning to each his ſeparate province, his diſtinct attributes, and peculiar character. The theology of Greece and Rome ſprung out of the wants, the fears, and paſſions of a ſavage race, and, in proceſs of time, thoſe nations adorned and poliſhed the rude invention of their anceſtors. Their genius gave the graces of poetry to every fiction, and their mythology was rendered elegant. Other nations, who made no advances in ſcience, formed their ſyſtem of polytheiſm in the ſame manner, and, as was natural, deified the ſame attributes. And thus, as Hume obſerves in his *Hiſtory of natural Religion*, "The Greek and Roman travellers and conquerors, without much difficulty, found their own deities every where, and ſaid, This is MERCURY, that VENUS; this is MARS, that NEPTUNE; by whatever title the ſtrange gods might be denominated. The goddeſs HERTHA of our Saxon anceſtors ſeems to be no other, according to Tacitus, than the MATER TELLUS of the Romans." According to this doctrine, we ſee in the tract on the *German Manners*, ſ. 43, that under the name of *Alcis* Tacitus found that the people worſhipped CASTOR and POLLUX. In this ſenſe the Roman hiſtorians are to be underſtood, when they tell us, that ſavage nations worſhipped Mars, and Venus, and Minerva. Under barbarous appellations they worſhipped inviſible powers, to whom they gave diſtinct functions, as the Romans did in their own religious ſyſtem. It is therefore to be wiſhed that Cæſar had collected the names aſcrib-

ed by the Germans to their gods. In that caſe, the ſeeming variance between him and Tacitus would, moſt probably, vaniſh. But Cæſar was engaged in an important war with Arioviſtus, and he did not pierce far into Germany. See ſ. 43, note (*f*).

(*b*) Human victims were offered to Mercury (or HESUS) as the chief of the German gods, and, according to the text, certain animals were ſacrificed to Mars and Hercules. There is, however, reaſon to think that Mercury was a principal deity, ſince we find, in a quarrel between the Cattians and Hermundurians, that both armies devoted the vanquiſhed, their men, and horſes, and whatever was taken, as a ſacrifice to Mars and Mercury. *Annals*, b. xiii. ſ. 57. In the *Hiſtory*, b. iv. ſ. 64, Mars is called the principal deity. The Germans were of Scythian origin, and, of courſe, retained much of the manners of their anceſtors. See Herodotus, book iv. The Celtic nations offered human victims to their gods, and, accordingly, Cæſar tells us, that the ſame horrible ſuperſtition prevailed among the Gauls. In threatening diſtempers or imminent dangers, they made no ſcruple to ſacrifice human victims, and made uſe of the miniſtry of their druids for that purpoſe. They put the victims alive into a coloſſus of ozier twigs, and all within expired in the flames. Convicts for theft, robbery, or other crimes, were thought moſt acceptable to the gods, and, when real criminals were not to be found, the innocent were made to ſuffer. Cæſar, book vi. ſ. 15. Pliny informs us, that men were ſacrificed by the Romans as late as the year of Rome 657, when a decree was paſſed, in the conſulſhip of Cornelius Lentulus and Licinius Craſſus, forbidding the practice of human ſacrifices. And

thus,

thus, says Pliny, the world was obliged to the humanity of the Romans, who abolished the horrible ceremonies, in which it was pronounced to be a religious duty to sacrifice a man, and even wholesome to eat his flesh. And yet the same writer tells us, lib. 28, that the mischief was so far from being cured by the decree of the senate, that he saw a Greek man and woman buried alive at Rome. Plutarch speaks of the same barbarity in his own time, inflicted on a native of Gaul. La Bletterie relates from Vopiscus, that, in the year of the christian æra 270, Aurelian, to induce the senate to consult the Sibylline books, offered a number of prisoners, of whatever nation they should choose, to be sacrificed on that occasion. After that fact, he says, let man boast of his reason, and with presumption say, that he stood in no need of revelation.

(*c*) A Liburnian galley was the name given by the Romans to a ship built after the model which they borrowed from the Liburnians, a people of Dalmatia. The service performed by those galleys in the battle of Actium is well known. Horace addresses an ode to Mæcenas, when he was setting out with Augustus on that expedition :

> Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium,
> Amice, propugnacula.
>
> HORACE, book v. ode 1.

How ISIS came to be worshipped by the Suevians in the form of a ship may be accounted for. That goddess was deemed the inventress of navigation. The superstition and religious ceremonies of the Ægyptians were diffused over Asia, Greece, and the rest of Europe. Brotier says, that inscriptions to Isis and Serapis have been

been frequently found in Germany. But whether a Liburnian galley ever arrived in the Baltic, and whether the Suevians heard of Isis, the Ægyptian goddeſs, may be made a queſtion. The Germans thought, like the reſt of the Pagan world, that ſome præternatural power preſided over every thing uſeful in human life. Imagination created a goddeſs of Navigation, and, as the human form was never aſſigned to the German deities, they worſhipped the tutelar ſaint of the ſea-faring life under the ſymbol of a ſhip. This was ſufficient foundation for ſaying that the Ægyptian Isis was adored in Germany. See two diſſertations on this ſubject, *Memoires de l'Academie des Belles Lettres*, vol. v. p. 63.

(*d*) It may be aſſumed as a fact, that the Germans at the time when Tacitus wrote his Treatiſe, had no repreſentation of their gods in the human ſhape. Statuaries and artiſts did not fix their reſidence in thoſe regions. It is certain, however, that in proceſs of time images and ſtatues abounded in Germany. The miſſioners, who went in the eighth and ninth centuries to propagate the chriſtian religion in thoſe parts, ſaw many images and ſtatues of their gods. That mode of idolatry was, however, far from being eſtabliſhed. The people perſiſted, for a long time, to obſerve the inſtitutions of their anceſtors, till the council of Francfort, by order of Charlemagne, decided, that images ſhould be admitted into churches to ſerve as books for the vulgar and ignorant. It is true that Tacitus, *Annals*, i. f. 51, mentions the temple of TANFANA; but it does not appear that any images or ſtatues of the gods were there immured.

(*e*) Groves devoted to ſuperſtition were frequent in Germany and in Gaul. Mention is made, *Annals*, ii. f. 12, of a wood ſacred to

Hercules. The foreſt of BARDUHENNA occurs, *Annals*, iv. ſ. 73; and in the *Hiſtory*, iv. ſ. 14, Tacitus deſcribes a ſacred grove. Claudian, in his Panegyric on Stilico, congratulates his hero, that by his means the Hercynian Foreſt, which, before that time, had been made a gloomy deſert by ſuperſtition, was converted into a place for the ſports and pleaſures of man, where he might purſue the chace, and hew the venerable oaks as his occaſions required:

> Ut procul Hercyniæ pervaſta ſilentia ſylvæ
> Venari tuto liceat, lucoſque vetuſtâ
> Religione truces, et robora, numinis inſtar
> Barbarici, noſtræ feriant impune ſecures.
>
> CLAUDIAN, lib. i.

Lucan's deſcription of a ſacred grove near Marſeilles, in the third book of the Pharſalia, is well known to the claſſic ſcholar. The rites of a barbarous worſhip, and the impreſſion made on the mind by the gloom of a thick foreſt, are there diſplayed with a maſterly hand; but, perhaps, Seneca has given the philoſophical and true reaſon. He ſays, if you enter a dark wood, where high embowering trees exclude the light of the ſun, the prodigious growth and lofty majeſty of the wood, the ſolitude of the place, and the deep impenetrable gloom, all conſpire to impreſs an awful ſtillneſs, and to fill the mind with ideas of the inviſible power of a ſuperior Being. *Si tibi occurrit vetuſtis arboribus, et ſolitam altitudinem egreſſis, frequens lucus, et conſpectum cœli denſitate ramorum ſubmovens; illa proceritas ſilvæ, et ſecretum loci, et admiratio umbræ fidem tibi numinis facit.* Seneca, epiſt. 41. The younger Pliny (epiſt. 12.) ſays more conciſely, We adore the gloom of woods, and the ſilence that reigns around us. *Lucos, atque in-*

iis

iis ſilentia ipſa adoramus. The ſame effect in a Gothic church is finely deſcribed in Congreve's Mourning Bride:

> No, all is huſh'd, and ſtill as death:—tis dreadful!
> How reverend is the face of this tall pile,
> Whoſe ancient pillars rear their marble heads,
> To bear aloft its arch'd and ponderous roof,
> By its own weight made ſteadfaſt and immovable,
> Looking tranquillity! It ſtrikes an awe
> And terror on my aching ſight.

Section X.

(*a*) The Scythians, according to Herodotus, book iv. had their divining twigs. The manner in which they were uſed is explained by Saxo Grammaticus, *Hiſt. of Denmark,* book xiv. who ſays, that the Rugians, a people bordering on the Baltic Sea, threw into their boſoms three pieces of wood, partly white, and partly black; the former denoting ſucceſs, and the latter adverſe fortune. La Bletterie ſays, the law of the Friſians ſhews that the people, even after they were converted to chriſtianity, ſtill retained this form of divination. The words of the law are, *Tali de virgâ præciſi, quos* TENOS *vocant*; *Teene* in German, or *Tan* in Anglo Saxon, ſignifying pieces of the young branch of a tree. See the explanation of TANFAN, *Annals*, b. i. f. 51, note (*a*).

(*b*) Cæſar ſays, b. i. f. 50, that, among the Gauls, the matrons of the family preſided to decide by lots and divination. The caſe, undoubtedly, was the ſame in Germany.

(*c*) Inſtances of this ſuperſtition are recorded among the Perſians. Darius was elected king by the neighing of a horſe. Herodotus, b. iii.

The ſame author, b. i. mentions a number of white horſes, conſidered as ſacred by Cyrus and his army. Juſtin relates the election of Darius in the following manner. The competitors for the regal diadem agreed that, on a ſtated day, the horſes of the ſeveral candidates ſhould be drawn out before the palace, and he, whoſe horſe was firſt heard neighing, ſhould be choſen king. The reaſon of this ceremony was the perſuaſion of the Perſians, who belived the ſun to be the only god, and that all horſes were conſecrated to him. Juſtin, b. i. f. 10. In the iſle of Rugen a prieſt took auſpices from a white horſe, as appears in Saxo Grammaticus, *Daniſh Hiſtory*, b. xiv.

(*d*) Monteſquieu obſerves, that this was the origin of duelling, and alſo of the heroic madneſs of knight errantry. It was conſidered by the ſuperſtition of the times as an appeal to heaven. In a fierce and warlike nation, like the Germans, whole families waged war on one another for every ſpecies of injury. To modify ſo ſavage a cuſtom, the combat was fought under the eye of the magiſtrate, and, in that manner, private as well as public affairs were determined. The proof by battle was eſtabliſhed, and with more eagerneſs, as it excluded perjury. Judicial combat was the mode of trial that afterwards prevailed all over Europe. Witneſſes and *compurgators* were obliged to ſupport their evidence by the deciſion of the ſword. Eccleſiaſtics, women, minors, the aged and infirm could not be expected to enter the liſts, and were therefore obliged to produce their champions. The cuſtom in England was called *wager of battle*. The form of proceeding is ſtated on good authority by the late Judge Blackſtone. That elegant writer had the merit of converting the thorny ſtudy

ſtudy of the law into a branch of polite literature. In his hands, *feret et rubus aſper amomum.* By him we are told, that the laſt trial by battle, that was joined in a civil ſuit, was in the thirteenth year of Queen Elizabeth, and was held in Tothill-fields, where Sir Henry Spelman was a witneſs of the ceremony. Blackſtone, vol. iii. p. 338. In Ruſhworth's Collection, ann. 1631; 7th Car. I. there is a long account of the proceeding preparatory to a trial by battle in the court of chivalry; but his majeſty, in the end, revoked his letters patent, not being willing to have the cauſe decided by duel. This remnant of German manners, though fallen into diſuſe, is not entirely aboliſhed at this day. Blackſtone, vol. iii. p. 341. See Dr. Robertſon's *Charles V.* vol. i. p. 59.

Section XI.

(*a*) Monteſquieu is of opinion, that in this Treatiſe on the Manners of the Germans an attentive reader may trace the origin of the Britiſh conſtitution. That beautiful ſyſtem, he ſays, was found in the foreſts of Germany. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xi. ch. 6. The Saxon WITENAGEMOT was, beyond all doubt, an improved political inſtitution, grafted on the rights exerciſed by the people in their own country. *Annals*, b. iv. ſ. 33, note (*a*). The author of the European Settlements in America ſays, "The Indians meet in a houſe, which they have in each of their towns for the purpoſe, upon every ſolemn occaſion, to receive ambaſſadors, to deliver them an anſwer, to ſing their traditionary war-ſongs, or to commemorate the dead. Theſe councils are public. Here they propoſe all ſuch matters as concern the ſtate, which have already been digeſted

geſted in the ſecret councils, at which none but the head men aſſiſt." *European Settlements*, vol. i. p. 177.

(*b*) The power and influence of the moon on all human affairs has been a notion adopted by the credulity and ſuperſtition of every age and nation. Arioviſtus, according to Julius Cæſar, book i. ſ. 50, was forbid to hazard a battle before the new moon. The commentator on the paſſage in Cæſar adds, that by a law of Lycurgus the Spartan army was not to take the field before the full moon; and Veſpaſian, to take advantage of religious prejudices, attacked the Jews on the ſabbath-day. See in the *Annals*, b. i. ſ. 28, a panic in the army, occaſioned by an eclipſe of the moon. The elder Pliny, b. ii. ſ. 99, ſets forth the extravagant powers attributed to the ſame planet. In this enlightened age ſome traces of the ſame ſuperſtition ſtill remain.

(*c*) The Gauls, we find in Cæſar, b. vi. ſ. 17. computed the time by nights, not by days. Veſtiges of this cuſtom ſtill remain in Germany and in Britain. We ſay *ſe'nnight* and *fortnight*; laſt Monday *ſe'nnight*, this day *fortnight*. By the Salic law, *title* 49, the time allowed for appearing in court was computed by nights inſtead of days. Chambers, in his Dictionary, tells us, that in a council held in this iſland, ann. 824, a cauſe was heard after thirty nights: *finita contentione coram epiſcopo; poſt triginta noctes illud juramentum ad Weſtminſter deductum eſt.*

(*d*) In the excellent tranſlation of Monſieur Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, we ſee the ſame cuſtom obſerved by the Danes. They ſtill ſhew the places where they choſe their kings, their generals, and alſo deliberated on the moſt important affairs. There are remaining three monuments of this cuſtom, the one near Lunden in Scania,

Scania, the other at Leyra or Lethra in Zealand, and the third near Viburg in Jutland. "Theſe "monuments, whoſe rude bulk has preſerved "them from the ravages of time, are vaſt un- "hewn ſtones, twelve in number, ſet upright "and placed in the form of a circle. In the "middle is a ſtone much larger than the reſt, on "which they made a ſeat for their king. The "other ſtones ſerved as a barrier to keep off the "populace. The principal chiefs mounted on "thoſe ſtones, and with a loud voice delivered "their opinions; then the ſoldiers, who ſtood "in crowds about them, ſignified their approba- "tion or aſſent by claſhing their ſhields together "in a kind of cadence, or by raiſing certain "ſhouts." Stonehenge is ſaid to be a monument of the ſame cuſtom. See Camden's *Britannia*, by Gibſon, p. 95. Brotier ſees in thoſe conventions the origin of the aſſemblies, called, under the Merovingian race of French kings, *Les Champs de Mars*, the Fields of March; under the Carlovingian, *Les Champs de Mai*, the Fields of May; and finally, *Les Etats Generaux*, the States General. In Tacitus, *Hiſt.* b. iv. ſ. 15, Civilis is applauded by the clangor of arms; and Vercingetorix, after haranguing the ſoldiers, receives the approbation of the army, ſignified by ſtriking their lances againſt their ſwords. Cæſar, b. vii. ſ. 21.

(*e*) From this it is evident that all the ſtates of Germany were not governed by kings. The chief of the community implies a republican magiſtrate. The word *civitas* does not mean a city, but a ſtate, a people, a body politic. In thoſe ſtates, where all important matters were diſcuſſed by the people in their collective body, no wonder that the man who poſſeſſed the powers of perſuaſion ſhould be the leading demagogue,

gogue. The oratory of the ſavage was unpoliſhed, but it was animated by the emotions of the heart; and the heart is the ſource of forcible and commanding eloquence. Charlevoix ſeems never better pleaſed than when he talks of the pathos and energy of his American orators; and the author of the European Settlements in America, ſays, "Their orators are employed in all the public councils, and there diſplay thoſe talents which diſtinguiſh them for eloquence and knowledge of public buſineſs; in both of which ſome of them are admirable. The chief ſkill of the orators conſiſts in giving an artful turn to affairs, and in expreſſing their thoughts in a bold and figurative manner, much ſtronger than we could bear in this part of the world, and with geſtures equally violent, but often extremely natural and expreſſive." *European Settlements*, vol. i. p. 178.

Section XII.

(*a*) The Salic law impoſed a pecuniary penalty on ſuch as took down a convict ſtill alive from the tree or gibbet on which he was ſuſpended. Even the dead body was not to be cut down without permiſſion from the judge. A fine was paid for this offence.

(*b*) The cowards here intended were, moſt probably, thoſe who offered to attend a chief to the wars as his faithful followers, and afterwards deſerted. Men of that deſcription were accounted infamous. Cæſar, b. vi. ſ. 22. By a law of the Lombards, the freeman, who was ſummoned to defend his country againſt a foreign invaſion, and refuſed to carry arms in that preſſing exigence, was adjudged guilty of a capital crime, and ſuffered as a traitor. Among the Canadians, the

the man who attaches himſelf to a leader, and, having ſung the war-ſong, refuſes to perform his engagement, is never ſafe from the indignation of his countrymen; at leaſt, he is diſgraced for ever. Charlevoix, letter xiv.

(*c*) The Germans diſtinguiſhed the crimes which were prejudicial to the ſtate, ſuch as treaſon and deſertion, from cowardice, which they ranked with thoſe unnatural paſſions that ought never to be heard of in ſociety. The enemy of his country was puniſhed as a public example. Private vices, in themſelves baſe and flagitious, were conſidered as diſgraceful to the guilty, not as an extenſive miſchief, and therefore ſwept away from the notice and the memory of man. Ignominious offenders were ſuffocated in mud, and their bodies were concealed from ſight, to be forgotten as ſoon as poſſible. This diſtinction of crimes and puniſhments continued ſo long, that, by a law of the Burgundians, the wife, who proved falſe to her huſband, was in like manner put to death in the mud. *Si qua mulier, maritum ſuum, cui legitime juncta eſt, dimiſerit, necetur in luto. Burgundian Laws*, tit. xxxiv. This practice of the Germans calls to mind the puniſhment for parricide among the ancient Romans. The perſon convicted of that crime was hooded, as unworthy of the common light; ſewed up alive in a ſack, with an ape, a dog, and a cock; and, in that condition, thrown into the ſea, or into the next lake or river. Cicero has deſcribed this mode of puniſhment. The parricide, he ſays, was ſewed in a ſack, that he, who murdered the author of his being, ſhould no longer enjoy the elements, by which all things are formed. The law would not condemn him to be devoured by wild beaſts, leſt the nature of the animals ſhould be rendered ſtill more ferocious; nor was it deemed

deemed proper to throw him naked into the next river, leſt, when wafted into the ſea, his body ſhould pollute the waves, that purified all things from infection. In this manner the criminal was ſuffered to live, as long as poſſible, without the open air; and he was left to die in ſuch a way, that his bones never touched the earth. *Inſui voluerunt in culeum vivos, atque ita in flumen dejici; ut qui eum necaſſet unde ipſe natus eſſet, careret iis rebus omnibus, ex quibus omnia nata eſſe dicuntur. Noluerunt feris corpus objicere, ne beſtiis quoque, quæ tantum ſcelus attigiſſent, immanioribus uteremur; non ſic nudos in flumen dejicere, ne, cum delati eſſent in mare, ipſum polluerent, quo cætera, quæ violata ſunt, expiari putantur. Ita vivunt, dum poſſunt, ut ducere animam de cœlo non queant; ita moriuntur, ut eorum oſſa terra non tangat.* See the whole paſſage, *Pro Sexto Roſcio Amerino.*

(*d*) In the liſt of crimes, for which a fine or compoſition was allowed, homicide, adultery, theft, and other perſonal injuries were included. See this Tract, ſ. 21. The laws, which the Germans eſtabliſhed in their new ſettlements, when they quitted their foreſts, and over-ran all Europe, are the beſt commentary on Tacitus. They confirm him in every thing material. A race of barbarians, iſſuing from their woods and marſhes, and bearing down all before them, would naturally bring with them their primitive ideas, and transfuſe them into all the laws eſtabliſhed in the conquered country. Whoever will be at the pains of examining their code of laws, will ſoon perceive, that, in their various fines for offences committed, they attended altogether to the quantity of the damage, the malice expreſſed or implied by the deed, and the rank of the perſon injured. Brotier, in his note on this paſſage, has

has given a variety of inſtances with his uſual accuracy. The whole would draw this note into too great a length. A few examples will be ſufficient. For ſtealing a ſucking calf, a fine, beſides the real value, and the expence of the ſuit, was impoſed by the Salic law, *De Furtis Animalium*, tit. iii. For ſtealing a bull the fine was greater, and for the king's bull ſtill more. For a dog of the chaſe, a conſiderable ſum. Knives were of great value with a people unſkilled in the mechanic arts. By the Salic law, he who ſtole a knife, was obliged to make reſtitution, and to pay a penalty. Horſes were almoſt ineſtimable among the Saxons, and accordingly, by their law, *De Furtis*, tit. iv. horſe-ſtealing was made a capital crime; a circumſtance the more ſingular, as a compoſition was allowed for homicide. By the Salic law, theft had its different ſhades of guilt; ſuch as ſtealing from the outſide of the houſe, from the inſide, and if the offender entered by a counterfeit key, the penalty increaſed. If he broke in, and then fled and ſtole nothing, he was fined for the damage done by the forcible entry. The bare attempt to commit a crime was in ſome inſtances puniſhed. If a man intended to give a mortal wound, miſſed his blow, the Salic law fined him for the malice expreſſed. For fracturing a ſkull the penalty was conſiderable, and ſtill greater if the bone exfoliated, and the brain was laid open. By the Salic and Ripuarian laws, homicide had different degrees of guilt, and the compoſition varied accordingly. For killing a barbarian the fine was moderate; for killing a man, and concealing the body, the puniſhment was higher, and ſtill increaſed, if the perſon ſlain was ſunk in a well, or thrown into a pond. The ranks of men were alſo taken into conſideration. If a freeman killed a freeman; if a Ripuarian

arian killed a Frank, or a Burgundian, he paid the ſums eſtabliſhed by the law; but the value of a Roman was fixed at a lower rate. Many more examples might be added; but theſe ſhort hints will ſerve to ſhew from what ſource the German emigrants derived their notion of crimes and puniſhments. The fine in Germany was a mulct of cattle, the only riches of the country; but in proceſs of time, when the Roman empire was overturned, and the invaders became acquainted with money, the fines were pecuniary. By the Ripuarian laws, inſtead of the penal ſum, called the weregild, the compoſition might be made in cattle, at the option of the offender.

(*e*) The part allotted to the king by the Salic law was called the *fredum*, i. e. *pax*, a payment to the king, as conſervator of the public peace, by preventing private vengeance for the injury received. Monteſquieu ſees in this paſſage the origin of the *fiſcal* revenue, or the king's *exchequer*. He obſerves further, that, when a man was killed by accident, or what is called chance-medley, no *fredum* was paid to the king, becauſe for involuntary homicide no vengeance could be demanded by the friends of the deceaſed. If a man was killed by the fall of a piece of wood, no *fredum* was paid, but the piece of wood was forfeited, as was likewiſe the beaſt that occaſioned the death of a man. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xxx. c. 20. From theſe early inſtitutions, all flowing from the German manners, the origin of DEODANDS, well known in our Engliſh law, may be clearly ſeen.

(*f*) The whole country of Germany was divided into different ſtates. In ſome of theſe monarchy was eſtabliſhed, and in others the republican form of government. The former ſubmitted to kings; the latter had their chiefs. The

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caſe was the ſame with the American ſavages. An eminent writer ſays, Though ſome tribes are found in America, with an head, whom we call a king, his power is rather perſuaſive than coercive. The other forms, which may be conſidered as a ſort of ariſtocracies, have no more power. *European Settlements in America*, vol. i. p. 176. In Germany, the leader of armies was elective. In each ſtate or tribe the diviſions were, 1ſt, the people; 2dly, the cantons, or ſhires, as they are called in Britain; 3dly, the VICI, or hundreds. Magiſtrates were choſen in general conventions of the people to preſide in the ſeveral cantons and hundreds. Cæſar, who ſeems to contradict this, knew that the commander in war had no authority in time of peace; and thence, perhaps, aroſe his miſtake. Tacitus expreſsly ſays, that there were magiſtrates in the ſeveral cantons and hundreds; and his account of the matter ſeems to be confirmed by the law made by the deſcendants of the German tribes, directing that, *according to ancient cuſtom*, an aſſembly of the people ſhould be convened before the Chief, or COMES, or his deputy, and that pleas ſhould be held by the hundredor. *Conventus* SECUNDUM ANTIQUAM CONSUETUDINEM, *fiat in omni* CENTENA *coram* COMITE, *aut ſuo* MISSO, *et coram* CENTENARIO *placitum fiat. Leges Alamannorum*, tit. XXXVI. lex. 1.

Section XIII.

(*a*) The cuſtom of wearing ſwords on all occaſions prevailed in every country where the Germans took poſſeſſion. That the magiſtrates never went armed, is to be aſcribed to the clergy, who, for many centuries, preſided in the courts

courts of juſtice. The Romans, it is well known, never wore their ſwords but in time of war, or upon a journey.

(*b*) This ſeems to be the origin of CHIVALRY, that famous inſtitution, which ſpread over the greateſt part of Europe in the eleventh century. It is related of Charlemagne, that he gave a ſword with great pomp and ſolemnity to his ſon prince Louis. La Bletterie ſays, that a ceremony, little different from that now before us, is ſtill ſubſiſting in many parts of Germany. When a young page has paſſed the time of life for his employment, the prince whom he ſerved gives a grand entertainment, and, in the preſence of his courtiers, receives homage from his page, and then girds a ſword on his ſide, and ſometimes makes him a preſent of a horſe. This is called *giving the right to carry arms.* Brotier obſerves, that the ſons of kings often received a preſent of arms from a foreign ſtate; and, in conformity to that cuſtom, AUDOIN, after a ſignal victory, was deſired by the Lombards to admit his ſon, who had ſignalized his valour in the field of battle, to dine at the ſame table with his father: but the conqueror made anſwer, that it could not be till the young prince received a ſword from ſome foreign potentate. Warnefrid, *De Geſtis Langobardorum*, lib. i. f. 23.

(*c*) When the young men of Rome attained the age of ſeventeen years, they changed their dreſs called the *prætexta*, for the *toga virilis*, the manly gown. On that occaſion the youth was conducted by his friends into the Forum (or ſometimes into the Capitol), where with much ſolemnity he changed his habit, and the day was called *dies tirocinii*, or the day on which he was capable of being a *cadet* in the army. The young German was, in like manner, introduced

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to the public by his relations. He then received a ſhield and a ſpear, and this is properly compared to the manly gown of the Romans. The ſame ceremony was obſerved by the Scandinavians. At the age of fifteen their young men became their own maſters, by receiving a ſword, a buckler, and a lance, and this was performed in ſome public meeting. See *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 197.

(*d*) We have ſeen that the chiefs among the Gauls, and alſo the Canadians, had a train of young adventurers, who liſted in their ſervice. See ſ. 12, note (*b*). Fidelity, no leſs than martial bravery, was the pride and glory of the followers, who voluntarily entered into the army. The reſpect with which they were beheld by their countrymen, was ſuch, that if any one of them was killed or wounded, the compoſition was three times more than the ſum paid in the caſe of a common freeman.

(*e*) War was the ruling paſſion of all the northern nations. Among ſuch a people it cannot be matter of wonder, that the chief, who led them on to danger and heroic fortitude, ſhould be idolized by the ſoldiers. In Gaul, the warrior had a train of clients and followers in proportion to his fame in arms: that was the only mark of grandeur known amongſt them. Cæſar, b. vi. ſ. 14. It was the ſame among the Scandinavians, and we ſee in Charlevoix that the Americans followed their leaders with equal ardour.

Section XIV.

(*a*) When Chonodomarus, king of the Alamanni, was taken priſoner by the Romans, his military companions, to the number of two hundred,

hundred, and three of the king's moſt intimate friends, thinking it a flagitious crime to live in ſafety after ſuch an event, ſurrendered themſelves to be loaded with fetters. Ammian. Marcellin. b. xvi. c. 13. There are inſtances of the ſame kind in Tacitus.

(*b*) It appears from Cæſar's account, that they had another way of exerciſing their courage, when their nation was in a ſtate of profound peace. They deemed it highly honourable to lay waſte the country all around their frontier, conceiving that, to exterminate their neighbours, and ſuffer none to ſettle near them, was a proof of valour. They had ſtill another kind of employment: robbery had nothing infamous in it, when committed out of the territories of the ſtate to which they belonged; they conſidered it as a practice of great uſe, tending to exerciſe their youth, and prevent ſloth and idleneſs. Cæſar, b. vi. ſ. 22. The cuſtom of carrying arms in the ſervice of foreign ſtates, during a long peace at home, was in vogue among the Scandinavians. "The more valiant among them, unable to lie inactive, till their own country ſhould offer them new occaſions to enrich and ſignalize themſelves, entered into the ſervice of ſuch other nations as were at war. This was a general cuſtom among all the Teutonic and Celtic nations; and ancient hiſtory affords us a thouſand examples of it." *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 234.

(*c*) From the liberality of the chieftain in granting preſents to his followers, Monteſquieu deduces the origin of vaſſalage. Fiefs, or feudal allotments of land, did not ſubſiſt in Germany. The chiefs or princes had nothing to beſtow but arms, and horſes; feaſts, and plenty of proviſions. This was the whole wealth of the Ger-

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man warrior in his own country; this was what he imparted freely to his followers. In process of time, when those fierce invaders took possession of large tracts in the conquered countries, the followers of the chiefs, no longer content with feasts, and presents of horses and arms, demanded allotments of lands, which, at first, were BENEFICIARY only, and afterwards for life. In time they became hereditary, with conditions of military service annexed to the grant. Hence the origin of the FEUDAL SYSTEM. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xxx. ch. 3, and 4. See Dr. Robertson, *Charles V.* p. 260, 263. See Abbé Millot, *Elemens de l'Histoire de France*, vol. i. p. 190. We find in Charlevoix, that the American chieftains were under the same obligation to bestow presents on the men who boiled the *war-kettle*, and *took up the hatchet* in their service. Charlevoix, letter xiv.

Section XV.

(*a*) The literal meaning of the original is, *They do not pass much of their time in hunting, but more of it in sluggish idleness.* NON MULTUM VENATIBUS, PLUS PER OTIUM TRANSIGUNT. This, at the first blush, seems to contradict Cæsar, who says, book vi. s. 20, their whole life is addicted to hunting and war. To reconcile the two authors, Lipsius and others since his time, propose to leave out of the original text the negative word *non*. This, perhaps, would be right, but the meaning of the passage is clear without any alteration. They hunted during a few months of the year, and then gave up all their time to the sports of the chace. In that pursuit consisted their actual employment. The rest of the year was loitered away in sleep and wine. The

ſame cuſtom prevailed among the American ſavages. Hunting, fiſhing, ſleep, and drunkenneſs filled the whole round of their time. See Charlevoix in ſundry places. A writer, who has left us a Latin Hiſtory of Canada, ſays, when not engaged in hunting, or on a journey, the Canadians ſits on the ground, or lie ſtretched in ſtupid repoſe, leaving all houſehold affairs to their women, who are obliged to toil and labour, while the men think ſuch menial offices beneath their dignity. See Creuxius, *Hiſt. Canadenſis*, p. 65.

(*b*) In all the ſtriking characters recorded in hiſtory, or drawn by the poet's, or the orator's pen, we ſee a mixture of oppoſite qualities. Catiline, as deſcribed by Cicero, or by Salluſt, is not the moſt wonderful inſtance even in civil ſociety. Among rude and ſavage tribes, where nature works without reſtraint, the contraſt is obvious. Every thing is in the extreme: peace and war, activity and ſloth, love and hatred, all take their turn, and ſhew themſelves without diſguiſe. No moderation, no gradual tranſition from one paſſion to another. Every thing is done on the impulſe of the moment, and repugnant deſires ſeem to lie blended together.

(*c*) Brotier finds in this paſſage the origin of tributes, by which he muſt be underſtood to mean voluntary contributions. The Romans impoſed a tribute, and other impoſts under various names of *ſtipendia* and *vectigalia*, on all the conquered provinces. In Germany, where no man had a fixed poſſeſſion of lands, and property was diſregarded, the chieftains were obliged to maintain their followers or companions in war. But plunder and rapine were the only revenue of the chief. To enable him, however, to ſupport his rank, the different ſtates (CIVITATES)

TATES) ſent him voluntary preſents of corn and cattle. When migrations were afterwards ſpread over Europe, the ſoldiers, after every victory, claimed their ſhare of the booty, and ſoon obtained a portion of lands, but thoſe lands were for the benefit of the individual, and at firſt for a year only. When they were made eſtates for life, and afterwards hereditary, every tenant of a certain portion of land was bound to attend the king in his army for forty days every year. That perſonal attendance growing troubleſome, the tenants compounded with the crown for a pecuniary ſatisfaction, which, in time, was levied by aſſeſſments under the name of *ſcutage*, *talliages*, or *ſubſidies*. But even theſe were not to be levied without the conſent of the common council of the realm. King John was obliged ſo to declare in his *Magna Charta*. See Blackſtone, vol. i. p. 309 and 310. The ſame law was in force on the continent. When William the Norman deſired a ſupply from the barons of his country, in order to aſſert his claim to the crown of England, they told him that the *Normans* were not bound to ſerve in foreign wars, and no conſideration could induce them to raiſe a ſupply. See St. Amand, *Hiſtorical Eſſay on the Legiſlative Power*, p. 102. When the French monarchy became afterwards greatly enlarged, no aid or ſubſidy could be levied without the conſent of the three eſtates in their general aſſembly. The firſt blow that was given to the liberties of France, was, as PHILIP DE COMINES obſerves, in the reign of Charles VII. when the nobles agreed that the king ſhould levy money upon their tenants for the venal conſideration of their having a ſhare of the ſum ſo collected. The hiſtorian adds, that the king gave a wound to his country, which would continue long to

bleed; and, he aſks with honeſt indignation, is there a prince upon earth who has power to raiſe a ſingle penny from his ſubjects, without the conſent of thoſe who are to pay it? The ſpirit of liberty has prevented the ſame grievance in this country, where, however great the public burthens, the rule has ever been, that no impoſt ſhall be exacted without the conſent of parliament; and thus the idea of voluntary tributes, which came originally out of the woods of Germany, remains in force at this hour.

(*d*) Theſe military preſents were not peculiar to the Germans. The Romans had their civic crown, and other marks of diſtinction. Pliny the Elder relates, that Siccius Dentatus, tribune of the people under the conſulſhip of Sp. Tarpeius and Aul. Aterius, A. U. C. 400, not long after the expulſion of the Tarquins, was engaged in one hundred and twenty battles, and returned with five and forty wounds, all honourably received in front, and not one behind, and that, for his valour, he received eighteen lances, twenty-five rich accoutrements, three gold chains, and twenty-ſix civic or mural crowns. Pliny, b. vii. f. 28.

(*e*) This was a dangerous leſſon, which has been followed in every age and country. Herodian ſays of the Germans in his time, that they were greedy of money, and always ready for gold to barter a peace with the Romans. Herod. lib. vi.

Section XVI.

(*a*) Ptolemy, who publiſhed his ſyſtem of Geography under the Antonines, near half a century after Tacitus, reckons no leſs than ninety cities in Germany; but thoſe cities muſt be

underſtood to be a number of huts, like thoſe of the American ſavages. Ammianus Marcellinus, an author more to be relied upon, who wrote the hiſtory of the Roman wars in Germany, does not mention a ſingle city. He ſays, on the contrary, that the Germans beheld the Roman cities with an eye of contempt, and called them ſo many ſepulchres encompaſſed with nets. *Oppida ut circumdata retiis buſta declinant.* Marcell. lib. xvi. c. 2. The idea of regular cities was not known in Germany till after the time of Charlemagne. See Cluverius, *Germania Antiqua*, lib. i.

(*b*) The vacant ſpace of ground which encompaſſed the houſe, was that celebrated *Salic land* that deſcended to the male iſſue, and never to the female line. For more of this ſee ſect. xx. and note (*f*).

(*c*) Lafitau, in his account of the American ſavages, ſays, that their dwellings are the abode of poverty and the moſt wretched ignorance; and, if we except the natives of Peru and Mexico, who had the ſkill to build their cottages with ſtone, all the various tribes are content with miſerable huts, ſuch as the Romans, in their deſcriptions of Africa, called *Mapalia* and *Tuguria.* In ſome parts, towards the ſouth as well as the north, the people take ſhelter in ſubterraneous caverns, formed by the hand of nature, and ſometimes conſtructed by themſelves. The *Eſkimaux*, who inhabit near Davis's Strait in California, and Nova Zembla, paſs the whole winter in thoſe deep receſſes, without ever venturing into the open air. Lafitau, *Mœurs de Sauvages Ameriquains*, vol. ii. p. 5. See Ellis's *Hudſon's Bay.* Dr. Robertſon tells us, that ſome of the American tribes were ſo extremely rude, and had advanced ſo little beyond the primeval ſimplicity

ſimplicity of nature, that they had no houſes at all. During the day, they take ſhelter from the ſcorching rays of the ſun under thick trees; at night they form a ſhed with their branches and leaves. In the rainy ſeaſon they retire into coves, formed by the hand of nature, or hollowed out by their own induſtry. *Hiſtory of America*, 8vo. edit. vol. ii. p. 173. See Kircher's *Mundus Subterraneus*, lib. viii. where there are many curious particulars concerning the Germans in their ſubterraneous caverns. The ſame cuſtom was obſerved among the Scythians. Pomponius Mela ſays, that, during the extreme ſeverity of the winter, they dwell under ground in natural caves, or in dens formed by their own labour. Mela, *De Situ Orbis*, lib. ii. cap. 1. The manſions of the Germans were ſuch as Ovid deſcribes in the firſt rude ages of the world:

> ——————Domus antra fuerunt,
> Et denſi frutices, et junctæ cortice virgæ.
>
> METAMORPH. lib. i.

Section XVII.

(*a*) This mantle, or *ſagum*, is often called RHENO by Latin authors. The reaſon is given by Cæſar, who ſays, that the Germans are cloathed in the ſkins of animals, called RHENONES; but the mantle was ſo ſhort, that it left the greateſt part of the body naked. *Pellibus aut parvis Rhenonum tegumentis utuntur, magnâ corporis parte nudâ.* Cæſar, b. vi. ſ. 20. See a ſimilar account of the Suevians, the moſt warlike of all the German nations, Cæſar, b. iv. ſ. 1; and ſee Pomponius Mela, b. iii. ſ. 3. Whoever would know more of the German dreſſes, will find a full

full account in PELLOUTIER, *Hiſtoire des Celtes*, b. ii. f. 6.

(*b*) The moſt improved of the American tribes dwell in mean and ſimple huts, contrived merely for ſhelter. They are without windows, and have a large hole in the middle of the roof, to give a vent to the ſmoke. There the American, when war and the chaſe are over, hovers over the fire, and dozes away his time in torpid indolence. See Dr. Robertſon, *Hiſt. of America*, b. iv. and Charlevoix, *paſſim*.

(*c*) Cluverius, the celebrated geographer, in his *Germania Antiqua*, deſcribes the tight dreſſes of the Germans in ſuch plain terms, as will not, in point of delicacy, admit of a tranſlation. The looſe attire of the Sarmatians, was, however, adopted by ſome of the German ſettlers on the weſtern ſide of the Rhine.

> Et qui te laxis imitantur, Sarmata, braccis,
> Vangiones, Batavique truces.
>
> LUCAN, lib. iv. 430.

> Vangiones, like looſe Sarmatians dreſt,
> Who with tough hides their brawny thighs inveſt.
>
> ROWE'S LUCAN.

(*d*) The people bordering on the Baltic, and alſo on the Northern Ocean, called by Tacitus the Exterior Sea, were not only curious in their choice of furs, but ſtudious to embelliſh them with ſhells and ſhining ſtones, and fragments of the ſcales of the various fiſh found in thoſe ſeas. In like manner the Eſkimaux ſavages of America, the Greenlanders, and all the rude inhabitants of the northern regions, are clad in furs ſtained with a variety of colours. This practice is ſtill continued with regard to the ermine, which is ſpotted with black lamb's ſkin. According

cording to Cluverius, the women in Saxony, in Pruſſia, Livonia, and in general throughout Germany, wear ſhifts without ſleeves, and leave the boſom bare.

Section XVIII.

(*a*) In this paſſage Tacitus ſeizes the opportunity to commend the noble ſimplicity of the German marriages, in order to paſs a pointed cenſure on the nuptial ceremonies eſtabliſhed at Rome, and the facility with which both ſexes violated the true marriage vow. Monteſquieu, in his compendious manner, has ſhewn the progreſs of vice till it triumphed over the office of the cenſor, and eſtabliſhed an entire corruption of manners. The civil wars reduced the number of citizens; and of thoſe that remained, few were married. Julius Cæſar and Auguſtus paſſed their laws againſt celibacy, called by Tacitus, *Annals*, b. iii. ſ. 25, the Julian ſtatutes, and by him declared to be a feeble remedy. See *Spirit of Laws*, b. xxiii. ch. 21. The lines of Horace ſtating the ſame complaint need not to be quoted. The indignation of Juvenal in his ſixth ſatire is ſufficiently known. The ſimplicity and virtue of the marriage contract among the tribes of Germany are given by Tacitus as a ſtriking contraſt to the depravity of Roman manners. The inſtances in which a plurality of wives was indulged, occurred but ſeldom, and even then were founded on ſpecial reaſons. Thus we read that Arioviſtus had two wives, the firſt of the Suevian nation; the ſecond, the ſiſter of a king, who courted the alliance of that German warrior. Cæſar, b. i. ſ. 53. Monteſquieu aſſigns the ſame reaſon for the number of wives among the kings of the firſt race, *Spirit of Laws*, b. xviii. ch. 24. For a proof

a proof of the fidelity of the German wives, ſee the paſſage from Florus, ſ. 8. of this tract, note (*a*). La Bletterie ſays, that among the women who periſhed with their huſbands on that occaſion, the Romans found one hanging by the neck, and her two children faſtened to her feet. Among the wild Canadians it appears that women were not in the ſame eſtimation as in Germany. The preliminary and the ceremony of marriage are extremely ſimple. The young man ſeats himſelf by the ſide of the girl in her own cabin; and if ſhe ſuffers it without ſtirring from her place, ſhe is held to be conſenting to the marriage. The bride-groom gives her various preſents; which are ſo many ſymbols and admonitions of the ſlavery to which ſhe is going to be reduced; ſuch as a collar and ſtraps to carry burthens; a kettle and a faggot, importing that ſhe is to dreſs the victuals, and make a proviſion of wood. The huſband has his own particular functions; he makes a mattreſs for his wife, builds a cabin for her, and paſſes his time in hunting and fiſhing. The man who abandons his wife without good cauſe, muſt expect nothing but inſults from her relations; and a woman who wantonly leaves her huſband, muſt paſs her time ſtill worſe. In ſome places the huſband has a right to cut off the noſe of the wife who elopes from him. See Charlevoix, letter xix.

(*b*) By a law of the Saxons, if a woman have male iſſue, ſhe is to poſſeſs the portion ſhe received in marriage during her life, and tranſmit it to her ſons. *Leges Saxonum*, tit. vii. *De Dote*.

Section

Section XIX.

(*a*) Seneca conſiders public ſpectacles as ſo many places of ſeduction. Nothing, he ſays, is ſo dangerous as loitering at ſuch diverſions, for, when the heart is ſoftened by pleaſure, the paſſions ſtand ready for the admiſſion of every vice. How is this to be underſtood? I return from thoſe places more avaricious, more ambitious, more luxurious. *Nihil vero eſt tam damnoſum bonis moribus, quam in aliquo ſpectaculo deſidere. Tunc enim per voluptatem facilius vitia ſurrepunt. Quid me exiſtimas dicere? Avarior redeo, ambitioſior, luxurioſior.* Senec. ep. vii.

(*b*) Maroboduus and Adgandeſtrius, two German kings, are ſuppoſed to have been able to write, ſince their letters to Rome are mentioned, *Annals*, b. iii. f. 63, and 88; but their countrymen in general were rude and illiterate. Many centuries paſſed before reading and writing came into general uſe. In the middle ages, kings and warriors were not able to write; and it is well known that in this country a lord of parliament was, by law, entitled to his *clergy*, though he could not read. The art of writing is finely deſcribed in the following tranſlation of a paſſage from Lucan:

> The noble art from Cadmus took its riſe,
> Of painting words, and ſpeaking to the eyes.
> He firſt in wondrous magic fetters bound
> The airy voice, and ſtopt the flying ſound.
> The various figures, by his pencil wrought,
> Gave colour and a body to the thought.

But this art was almoſt wholly unknown in Germany, and, by conſequence, love-letters were not in uſe.

(*c*) By a law of the Viſigoths, if a woman was guilty of adultery, but not taken in the fact, it was

was competent to her husband to accuse her before the magistrate; and if the charge was supported by evidence, both the offenders were delivered over to the husband, to be dealt with as he should think proper. If the husband killed both in the fact, it was justifiable. *Laws of the Visigoths*, tit. *De Adulteriis*, lex. 3.

(*d*) The hair long and flowing was considered as an ornament, and therefore by the Salic law, tit. xxviii. to cut off the hair of an innocent person, was an injury severely punished. In some parts of what is now Westphalia, the women took upon them to execute justice on the adulteress, following her with stripes from village to village, and with small knives inflicting wounds, till they left the offender breathless, or at the point of death. See an Epistle from St. Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz, to Ethelbald, King of England, in Michael Alford's *Annales Ecclesiæ Anglo-Saxonicæ*, tom. ii.

(*e*) Salvien, a priest of Marseilles, who wrote in the fifth century, has left a remarkable parallel between the manners of the Romans and the Germans, at the time when those fierce invaders were making their inroads in every quarter of Europe. The progress of vice was such, that a general corruption of manners was diffused through the wide extent of the empire. Salvien says, that the barbarians seemed destined not only to conquer, but to reform the vices of the age. Wherever the Goths and Vandals carried their victorious arms, no kind of licentiousness was seen, except among the old inhabitants. The Romans loved debauchery; the Barbarians detested it: the Romans considered adultery as an elegant fashion; the Barbarians thought it a crime. See Salvien, *De Gubernatione Dei*, lib. vii. Juvenal, who wrote in the time of Domitian,

tian, and is ſuppoſed to have died in the reign of Adrian, has ſhewn the depravity of the age in which he lived; and yet thoſe diſſolute manners were tenderly called *the way of the world.* Seneca has obſerved, when enormous vices are grown ſo general as to be the manners of a people, no remedy can be expected. *Deſinit eſſe remedio locus, ubi quæ fuerant vitia, mores ſunt.*

(*f*) The facility, with which divorces were obtained at Rome, introduced an indefinite right of renouncing one marriage and embracing another, as often as caprice or a new paſſion dictated. The letter of the law was obſerved, but the ſpirit was groſsly counteracted. *Luſus erat ſacræ connubia fallere tædæ*, ſays Martial; and the ſame author, in an excellent epigram, tells us that the Julian law againſt adultery was revived, and yet, in leſs than thirty days, Theleſina married her tenth huſband; if that may be called a marriage, which in fact was no better than a legal adultery. To ſuch an artful woman, ſays the poet, the more ſimple vice of a common proſtitute is preferable.

Julia lex populis ex quo, Fauſtine, renata eſt,
Atque intrare domos juſſa pudicitia eſt;
Aut minus, aut certè non plus triceſima lux eſt,
Et nubit decimo jam Theleſina viro.
Quæ nubit toties, non nubit, adultera lege eſt;
Offendor mœchâ ſimpliciore minus.
MARTIAL, lib. vi. epig. 7.

Chaſtity was in higher reſpect among the tribes of Germany. According to Valerius Maximus, the Cimbrian women, who marched with the army into Italy, were all virgins, and aſſigned that reaſon to Marius, when they made it their requeſt to be admitted into the veſtal order. See this Tract, ſ. 8, note (*a*), where it will be ſeen

ſeen that thoſe women ſtrangled themſelves, rather than expoſe their perſons to the paſſions of the Roman ſoldiers. Valerius Maximus adds, if the gods, on the day of battle, had inſpired the men with equal fortitude, Marius would never have boaſted of his Teutonic victory. Valerius Maximus, b. vi. ch. 1.

(*g*) In the Epiſtle from St. Boniface, already cited in this ſection, note (*d*), we are told, that among the *Vinedians*, a rude and barbarous people, the ſanctity of marriage was obſerved with ſo much zeal and mutual affection, that the wife, on the death of her huſband, diſpatched herſelf, that her body might be burned on the ſame funeral pile with the man ſhe loved. Procopius (*de Bell. Goth.* lib. ii.) gives an account of the ſame conjugal fidelity among the Heruli. It is needleſs to mention the ſame practice among the widows of Malabar, and other parts of India.

(*h*) Great latitude was allowed by the Roman law to the paternal authority. The father, contrary to all the rights of nature, had an abſolute juriſdiction over his children. He could condemn them to death. Such a power, nothing ſhort of abſolute dominion, gave birth to a train of evils. Infants were abandoned, thrown into rivers, and expoſed to wild beaſts. See Minucius Felix, in *Octavio*, cap. 50. Laws were, undoubtedly, made to ſtem the torrent of licentiouſneſs, but thoſe were eluded by the arts of procuring abortion. Juvenal inveighs againſt that horrible practice with his uſual ſpirit:

> Hæ tamen et partûs ſubeunt diſcrimen, et omnes
> Nutricis tolerant, fortunâ urgente, labores.
> Sed jacet aurato vix ulla puerpera lecto;
> Tantum artes hujus, tantum medicamina poſſunt,
> Quæ ſteriles facit, atque homines in ventre necandos
> Conducit. JUVENAL, ſat. vi. v. 592.

Yet

Yet theſe, though poor, the pain of child-bed bear,
And, without nurſes, their own infants rear.
You ſeldom hear of the rich mantle ſpread
For the babe, born in the great lady's bed.
Such is the pow'r of herbs; ſuch arts they uſe
To make them barren, or their fruit to loſe.
DRYDEN'S JUVENAL.

Such were the manners of an enlightened people, who were ſo prodigal of the name of Barbarians to all the nations round them. How much ſuperior was the natural reaſon, the inſtinct, it may be ſaid, of the German tribes, to the boaſted philoſophy of Greece and Rome? It is remarkable that Pliny the elder apologizes for the unnatural practice of the Romans. The prolific vigour, he ſays, of ſome women, who would otherwiſe be overſtocked with children, calls for this indulgence. *Quoniam aliquarum fœcunditas plena liberis venia indiget.* Lib. xxix. The Germans felt the power of parental fondneſs, and accordingly we ſee in the Salic law (tit. xxviii. *De Homicidiis Parvulorum*) that their deſcendants impoſed various pecuniary fines for cruelty to infants; for killing a woman with child, or a woman not paſt child-bearing; with many other clauſes, all tending to protect the riſing generation. The Americans were not deficient in affection for their offspring; but it does not appear that they attended to the means of multiplying their numbers. Charlevoix relates an inſtance of filial affection blended with ſavage ferocity. An Iroquois, who had ſerved in the French army againſt his own nation, met his father in an engagement, and in the act of going to give the mortal blow, diſcovered who he was. He ſtopped his arm, and ſaid to his proſtrate father, "The life which I received

"from

" from you, this day I give you. Let me not " meet you again; for now I owe you nothing." Charlevoix, letter xxi. p. 89.

(*i*) Juſtin ſays of the Scythians, Juſticé is cultivated in that country, more through the diſpoſition of the people, than by declaratory laws. *Juſtitia gentis ingeniis culta, non legibus.* Juſtin, b. ii. ch. 3. The ſame writer adds, It is altogether aſtoniſhing, that natural inſtinct ſhould teach a ſavage race, what neither moral wiſdom, nor the precepts of philoſophy, could eſtabliſh in Greece. Elegant manners yielded to uninſtructed nature. Ignorance of vice did more among barbarians than all the boaſted ſyſtems of a poliſhed nation. *Prorſus ut admirabile videatur, hoc illis naturam dare, quod Græci longâ ſapientium doctrinâ, præceptiſque philoſophorum conſequi nequeunt, cultuſque mores incultæ barbariæ collatione ſuperari. Tanto plus in illis proficit vitiorum ignoratio, quam in his cognitio virtutis.* Juſtin, lib. ii. ſ. 2.

Section XX.

(*e*) Seneca, on the ſubject of training a youth in the way he is to follow, ſays, if he was born in Germany, he would, even in his infancy, brandiſh his little javelin. In another work, he mentions the promptitude of the German mind; the love of arms, to which they are born and bred; their patience and firmneſs under every hardſhip, and their neglect of all covering for their bodies, while they have no retreat to ſhelter them from the inclemency of the weather. Seneca, epiſt. xxxvi. and, *De Ira*, lib. i. ſ. 11. Charlevoix deſcribes the American children wallowing in dirt, and reared in the ſame manner as the German infants, without the help of a nurſe; a circumſtance

ſtance mentioned by Tacitus, for the ſake of glancing obliquely at the faſhion that prevailed with the Roman matrons, who committed their children to nurſes and Greek ſervants. For more of this, ſee the *Dialogue concerning Oratory*, ſ. 29.

(*b*) The age of manhood ſeems to have commenced at the end of their twelfth year. Stout and well grown boys were capable of bearing arms, in a country where the ſoldier was equipped with light armour. Hence King Theodoric ſays, It is abſurd that the young men, who are fit for military ſervice, ſhould be deemed incapable of conducting themſelves. Valour fixes the age of manhood. He, who is able to pierce the foe, ought to combat every vice. See Caſſiodorus, *Epiſt.* i. Monteſquieu obſerves, that Childebert II. was fifteen years old, when Gontram his uncle declared him to be of full age. "I have put," he ſaid, "this javelin in your hands, to inform "you, that I now reſign the kingdom to your "care;" and then, turning to the aſſembly, "You ſee that Childebert is a man; obey him." Monteſquieu adds, that, by the Ripuarian laws, at the end of fifteen years the ability of bearing arms and the age of manhood went together. The youth had then acquired the ſtrength of body that was requiſite for his defence in combat. Amongſt the Burgundians, who made uſe of the judiciary combat, the youth was of full age at fifteen. When the armour of the Franks was light, fifteen might be deemed the age of diſcretion. In ſucceeding times heavy armour came into uſe, and then the term of minority was enlarged. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xxviii. ch. 26 and 27.

(*c*) Cæſar gives the ſame account. The young men who are not acquainted with the union of the ſexes, till the age of twenty, are highly applauded.

plauded. *Qui diutiſſime impuberes permanſerunt, maximam inter ſuos ferunt laudem: hoc ali ſtaturam, ali vires, nervoſque confirmari putant. Intra annum vero vigeſimum fœminæ notitiam habuiſſe in turpiſſimis habent rebus. De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. ſ. 20.

(*d*) Tacitus uſes the words, *pares validæque miſcentur*, that is, they are married equal and robuſt. Brotier underſtands the expreſſion as applying to the equality of conditions, or a marriage among perſons of equal rank, and he cites laws from the German code, annexing penalties to thoſe of both ſexes who marry perſons of inferior rank. But the equality here intended by Tacitus ſeems from the context to be no other than maturity of years in the contracting parties. The diſtinctions of rank, which took place among the Franks in Gaul, were unknown to the German tribes in their own country.

(*e*) We find in Charlevoix, that, though it be true that there is no nation in the world where the female ſex is more deſpiſed, it is equally true that the children belong to the mother only, and the father is always held as a ſtranger to his offſpring, while, at the ſame time, he is reſpected as the maſter of the cabin. Charlevoix, letter xix. In ſome parts of Aſia and Africa filiation was reckoned from the mother only, perhaps becauſe in thoſe countries the real father was equivocal. Among the Germans there was not the ſame room for jealouſy. It is true, that the woman convicted of adultery was ſhorn of her locks, and driven out of the village; but ſtill marriage was deemed a ſacred inſtitution, and conjugal fidelity was a female virtue throughout the nation. The women reared their infants at their breaſt, and truſted nothing to nurſes or ſervants. The huſband hunted, or lounged by the fire-ſide

in ſtupid apathy. He dwelt in one hut with his family; but he valued them no more than if they were all aſſembled by accident, and for his offſpring he felt no ſolicitude. Filial affection was, by conſequence, fixed on the mother. Add to this the reſpect, nothing ſhort of veneration, which was paid to the ſex by all the different tribes. Theſe conſiderations may account for the affection of the maternal uncle for his ſiſter's children. It was for this reaſon, ſays Monteſquieu, that the early French hiſtorians dwell ſo much on the affection of the kings of the Franks for their ſiſters, and the ſiſter's children. By the Salic law, the ſiſter of the mother was preferred to the father's ſiſter; and, when a woman became a widow, ſhe fell under the guardianſhip of the female relations of her deceaſed huſband. Moreover, when a man was guilty of homicide, the law allowed him to deliver up his whole ſubſtance, and his relations were to make good the deficiency. In that caſe, after the father, mother, and brother, the ſiſter of the mother was to pay, as if that was the tendereſt tie. We read in Gregory of Tours, b. viii. ch. 18 and 20, the rage of Gontram at Levigild's ill treatment of Ingunda, his niece: a war was carried on by Childebert her brother to revenge the injury done to his ſiſter. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xviii. ch. 22. The ſeeds of theſe ſeveral cuſtoms among the Franks are plainly ſeen in the German manners.

(*f*) Thus we ſee that, by cuſtom (the unwritten law of the Germans), the females were excluded from the ſucceſſion to the lands of their deceaſed father. What thoſe lands were is clearly explained by Monteſquieu. While the Franks, he ſays, lived in their own country, their whole ſtock conſiſted of ſlaves, herds of cattle, horſes, arms, and accoutrements. Lands for cultivation

on were aſſigned to them by the ſtate for a year only, and after that time it was reſumed by the public. What then were the lands to which the male iſſue ſucceeded? Every hut or cabin had a precinct of ground, and that was the eſtate that deſcended to the ſons, or went in the male line. It was called SALIC land, becauſe the manſion of a German was called SAL, and the ſpace incloſing it SALBAC, the homeſtead. When the FRANKS iſſued from their own country, and gained poſſeſſions in Gaul, they ſtill continued to give to their new ſettlements the name of SALIC land; and hence, the law of the FRANKS that regulated the courſe of deſcent, was called the SALIC LAW. Rapin has left us an elaborate diſſertation on the ſubject. He takes notice of two different editions of the Salic law; but the laſt, it ſeems, is not correct. From the former, Rapin ſtates ſix rules of ſucceſſion to land property. 1. If a man dies without iſſue, his father or his mother ſhall inherit. 2. If he leaves neither father nor mother, his brother or his ſiſter ſhall ſucceed. 3. If there is no ſurviving brother or ſiſter, the ſiſter of his mother ſhall be entitled. 4. If the mother has left no ſiſter, the ſiſter of the father ſhall ſucceed. 5. If the father has left no ſiſter, the next relation of the male line ſhall have the eſtate. 6. No part of the SALIC land ſhall paſs to the females; but the whole inheritance deſcends to the male line, that is, the ſons ſhall be entitled to the ſucceſſion. Rapin has entered into a long diſcuſſion, but Monteſquieu was maſter of his ſubject, and with the brevity of Tacitus has placed the whole in the cleareſt light. The rule among the Germans in their own country was, that the SALIC land ſhould go to the ſword, and not to diſtaff. The daughters were excluded, becauſe they paſſed by marriage into other families. The Salic law was founded on the cuſtoms and manners of Germany.

If the father left children, the daughters were excluded, and the right of inheritance veſted in the ſons. The well-known law of the French monarchy, which excludes the female line from the ſucceſſion to the crown, had its origin in the woods of Germany. It is true that, in proceſs of time, the law of the Franks gave way to the civil law; and women, though incapable of performing military duty, were allowed to ſucceed to fiefs, which, for that reaſon, were called improper fiefs. The SALIC LAW loſt its force in France, except as to the ſucceſſion to the crown, in which reſpect it has remained inflexible from the earlieſt period of the monarchy to the preſent time. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xviii. ch. 22. See alſo Rapin's Diſſertation.

(*g*) To be poſſeſſed of great wealth, by whatever means acquired, and to be at the ſame time old without iſſue, gave the higheſt credit and importance to a Roman citizen. He was ſurrounded by flatterers, who paid their court, and with emulation ſent handſome preſents, in hopes of being made teſtamentary heirs, or, at leaſt, of obtaining a legacy. The advantages of this ſituation were ſuch, that fathers often renounced their children, in order to enjoy the incenſe of adulation. Rome was divided into two claſſes; the rich, who amuſed their followers with expectations; and the legacy-hunters, who panted for ſudden riches. Seneca has drawn, as it were in miniature, a ſtriking picture of the avaricious ſycophant: he is a vulture, lying in wait for a carcaſs. *Vultur eſt, cadaver expectat.* Horace, Juvenal, and Martial have made both ranks of men a ſubject of ridicule. See *Annals*, b. iii. ſ. 25.

Section

Section XXI.

(*a*) In the rude ſtate of ſociety, before men had any notion of an umpire or magiſtrate to decide their differences, it was natural that every man ſhould exerciſe a right to repel injuries from himſelf and his family. It was alſo natural that he ſhould demand atonement from the wrong-doer. Reſentment is an active principle in the frame of man. In the minds of ſavages it inflamed a ſpirit of revenge. Their relations, their friends, and their clan joined in the quarrel. Whole tribes waged war againſt each other for the ſake of an individual. Ties of conſanguinity and the ſentiments of ſocial affection contributed to aggravate the miſchief. Every rude uncivilized ſtate was filled with inteſtine broils. It was the pride of a German (and the ſame may be ſeen among the ſavages of America) to expect redreſs from the vigour of his own arm. He thought it infamous, ſays Dr. Robertſon, to give up to another the right of determining what reparation he ſhould accept, or with what vengeance he ſhould reſt ſatisfied. It is well known that in Britain, when a man belonging to a particular tribe or clan committed a murder, vengeance was purſued not only againſt the offender and his family, but againſt the whole clan; and this ſpirit of revenge was diſtinguiſhed by the name of *deadly feud*. During the ſhort reign of King Edmund, a law was paſſed forbidding the deadly feud, except between the relations of the deceaſed and the murderer himſelf (ſee Hume's *Hiſt.* App. i.); ſo late was it before men could be taught to reſign their natural rights for the ſake of enjoying a ſurer protection under a regular government. And yet we ſee ſome rudiments

diments of civil ſociety among the ancient Germans. They began to form an idéa of a public intereſt in the preſervation of the peace. We have ſeen in this tract, ſ. xii. and in the notes (*d*) and (*e*), that a compoſition for offences was made by a mulct of cattle, and that the king or chiefs of the ſtate received a fine for the violation of the public peace. The ſavage, who before that time depended on his own martial vigour, was willing to reſign his reſentment to the direction of the magiſtrate, and to receive a ſtated compenſation. The ſpirit of revenge was appeaſed, and the *deadly feud* of courſe gave way to the new juriſdiction.

(*b*) This compromiſe for manſlaughter and other perſonal injuries had the happy effect of curbing the ferocity of a barbarous race; but ſtill the principle of the compoſition was a ſatisfaction to the injured party. Avarice was called in to appeaſe revenge. A debt was ſuppoſed to be due for the crime committed, and this appears to have been eſtabliſhed in the remoteſt ages. Homer mentions a compoſition for murder:

> ——————— If a brother bleed,
> On juſt atonement we remit the deed.
> A ſire the ſlaughter of his ſon forgives;
> The price of blood diſcharg'd, the murd'rer lives.
> 9th Iliad, v. 743.

And again in the deſcription of Achilles's ſhield:

> There in the forum ſwarm a numerous train,
> The ſubject of debate, a townſman ſlain:
> One pleads the fine diſcharg'd, which one denied,
> And bade the public and the laws decide.
> 18th Iliad, v. 577.

This

This mode of compoſition for crimes and injuries was adopted by the various communities in Germany; but their deſcendants, after their irruption into Gaul, Italy, and Spain, ſtill claimed the right of waging private war for private injuries. Hoſtilities continued during a number of years, and the animoſity of the contending parties laid a ſcene of blood. Charlemagne endeavoured by a poſitive law to aboliſh the miſchief; but the genius of one man was not ſufficient to eradicate a cuſtom ſo firmly eſtabliſhed. See Robertſon, *Hiſt. of Charles V.* vol. i. p. 54. Some of the prices ſettled by the Salic law for a variety of offences may be ſeen in this tract, ſ. 12, note (*d*). By the law of our Anglo-Saxon anceſtors, the price of the king's head, or his WEREGILD, was fixed at 30,000 *thrimſas*, a ſpecies of coin whoſe value is uncertain. The price of the prince's head was 15,000 *thrimſas*; the biſhop's or alderman's, 8,000; the ſheriff's, 4,000; a thane's or clergyman's, 2,000; a ceorle's, 266. Hume's *Hiſtory*, App. i. To complete this ſyſtem, it remained to compel the delinquent to pay, and the perſon injured to accept, a proper ſatisfaction. This point being once eſtabliſhed, men reſigned their ſavage rights of revenge, and the civil magiſtrate was enabled to preſerve public order and tranquillity. And thus, ſays Blackſtone, by the Iriſh Brehon law, in caſe of murder, the BREHON, or judge, was uſed to compound between the murderer and the friends of the deceaſed, by cauſing the malefactor to give unto them, or the child or wife of him that was ſlain, a recompenſe, which they called an ERIACH. And in our Saxon laws (particularly thoſe of King Athelſtan) the ſeveral WEREGILDS for homicide are eſtabliſhed in progreſſive order, from the death of the ceorle,

or

or peaſant, up to that of the king himſelf. In the laws of Henry I. we have an account of what other offences were then redeemable by WEREGILD, and what were not ſo. Blackſtone, vol. iv. ch. 23. In proceſs of time, when the civil union was better underſtood, and men ſaw that, by depoſiting their reſentments in the hands of theſtate, their perſonal ſafety and their property could be better defended, crimes were no longer conſidered as mere perſonal injuries, but were puniſhed as offences againſt the good order and peace of the community. Revenge and perſonal ſatisfaction for the wrong committed were no longer the objects in view. The public juſtice of the community was found to be the beſt protection, and, in a regular but gradual progreſſion, as ſucceeding generations became more poliſhed and enlightened, that ſyſtem of juriſprudence grew up, by which men find their lives, their liberty, and their property ſufficiently guarded. See an account of the proceedings of the American ſavages in caſes of murder, differing but little from the cuſtoms of the Germans, *European Settlements in America*, vol. i. p. 180 and 181.

(*c*) Tacitus is confirmed by Julius Cæſar, who ſays, the laws of hoſpitality are inviolable among the Germans. Their viſitors are ſure of a cordial reception. Their houſes are open to every gueſt. Book vi. ſ. 22. Lafitau informs us, that the laws of hoſpitality are held ſacred by the ſavages of America. The gueſt, on his firſt arrival, never tells who he is, or whence he came, nor does the maſter of the houſe make any enquiry. No time is loſt in that exchange of compliments ſo much cultivated by poliſhed nations. The ſtranger, as ſoon as he enters the cabin, has his repaſt laid before him, and he ſits down to it without ceremony. His account of himſelf is always

always given after his meal, and ſometimes at the end of four, ſix, or ten days. *Mœures des Sauvages,* vol. ii. See an Account of the European Settlements in America, vol. i. p. 171. Monteſquieu obſerves, that hoſpitality flouriſhes moſt where the manners are rude and ſimple. The ſpirit of commerce may unite civilized nations, but individuals are not the more connected. Every thing in thoſe countries has its price. The ſentiments of the heart, the ſocial affections, and the virtues of humanity are exchanged and bartered in a courſe of traffic. Barbarians have little or no attention to their intereſt. *Spirit of Laws,* b. xx. ch. 2. The Burgundian law impoſed a fine on every man who refuſed his roof and fire-ſide to the coming gueſt; but the Salic law provided, that no man ſhould harbour an atrocious criminal.

Section XXII.

(*a*) Contrivances for bathing in warm water occur in the books of almoſt all travellers in North America. The inhabitants of the ſouth have recourſe to lakes and rivers. Lafitau informs us, that the people of Peru and Mexico, living under the intenſe heat of the ſun, as ſoon as they riſe in the morning, betake themſelves, men and women, to the ſea-ſide, where that advantage is near at hand, or to the neareſt river, and there exerciſe themſelves in the water for a conſiderable time. *Mœurs des Sauvages,* vol. i. p. 265. The ſeverity of the winter towards the north requires the uſe of hot ſtoves. The Ruſſians are remarkable for the ſame cuſtom. Their vapour-baths, to which men and women reſort promiſcuouſly, and, after exciting a violent

lent perſpiration, go forth without any covering to roll in the ſnow, are deſcribed at length by Abbé la Chappe, in his account of his *Journey through Siberia to Tobolſki.*

(*b*) The manner in which the Romans placed themſelves at table, differed from moſt other nations. Three couches, called triclinia, were ranged in order, but ſo as to leave the end of the table open for the approach of the ſervants. Three perſons lay, in effeminate luxury, on each of the couches; ſometimes four or five. Horace mentions four;

Sæpe tribus lectis videas cœnare quaternos.

Cicero, in Piſonem, ſays, there was nothing in his houſe neat or elegant. Five Greeks, and often more, lay crowded on one couch. *Nihil apud hunc lautum, nihil elegans. Græci quini ſtipati in lectulis, ſæpe plures.* Tacitus ſeems never to be better pleaſed, than when he has opportunity of paſſing an oblique cenſure on the manners of the Romans. Accordingly we find, that the Germans in a more manly way ſeated themſelves each at his own table. That this was the primitive cuſtom of remote ages, appears frequently in Homer; and Virgil, his great imitator, ſays,

Hæ ſacris ſedes epulis; hic arjete cæſo
Perpetuis ſoliti patres conſidere menſis.
Æneid. vii. v. 175.

This was their temple, this their court of ſtate;
Here at their ſacred feaſt the fathers ſat.
PITT'S VIRGIL.

(*c*) The ſame love of liquor, with all its conſequential miſchiefs, has been obſerved by all travellers

travellers among the ſavage tribes of America. Charlevoix ſays, the avarice of the French dealers introduced drunkenneſs among them, and that in the ſtreets of Montreal, huſbands, wives, fathers, mothers, brothers and ſiſters were frequently ſeen in a ſtate of intoxication, worrying one another with their teeth like ſo many enraged wolves. Charlevoix, *Journal of a Voyage to North America*, letter viii. See alſo the *European Settlements in America*, vol. i. p. 169. To ſuppreſs the evil conſequences of intoxication among the Franks, the SALIC LAW ordained, that if a man were killed at a convivial meeting, in company with five or ſeven, the ſurvivors ſhould convict one as the offender, or jointly pay the compoſition for his death. Tit. *De Homicidiis in Convivio factis.*

(*d*) Lipſius ſays, that, when he read Xenophon's account of the Perſians (*Cyropædia*, lib. viii.), he was ſtruck with the wonderful conformity of the eaſtern nations to the manners of the ancient Germans. See the Speech of Civilis in a ſacred grove, when all were warm with liquor. *Hiſt.* b. iv. ſ. 14. Plutarch, in his *Sympoſiacs*, b. vii. qu. 9, obſerves, that it was the cuſtom of the Greeks, as well as the Perſians, to debate of ſtate affairs at their convivial meetings. He refers to a paſſage in Homer, where Neſtor adviſes Agamemnon to prepare a feaſt, and then hear the ableſt counſellor. For this Plutarch gives a reaſon: There is, he ſays, a wineleſs drunkenneſs excited by anger, malice, ambition, and other turbulent paſſions; but wine rather overcomes the bad affections, and ſtirs and agitates the generous emotions of the heart. Among the American ſavages, when any buſineſs of conſequence is tranſacted, they appoint a feaſt upon the occaſion,

ſion, of which almoſt the whole tribe partakes, *European Settlements in America*, vol. i. p. 178.

Section XXIII.

(*a*) Pliny the elder obſerves, that the Ægyptians had their intoxicating liquor diſtilled from grain, which their country produced in great abundance. But while the Earth thought that ſhe was yielding large crops of corn, the wit of man, ever ingenious in new modes of vice, derived the art of making even water an intoxicating liquor. *Heu, mira vitiorum ſolertia! inventum eſt quemadmodum aqua quoque inebriaret. Nat. Hiſt.* lib. xiv. ſ. 29.

(*b*) What Tacitus calls *lac concretum*, coagulated milk, Cæſar calls by the name of cheeſe. *Major pars victus eorum lacte, et caſeo, et carne conſiſtit. De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. ſ. 21. Pliny the elder wonders, that a race of men, who lived ſo much on milk, had not the ſkill to make cheeſe. They converted it into a kind of whey and butter, and uſed it as an unguent. *Nat. Hiſt.* b. xi. ſ. 96. Sidonius Apollinaris, in a little poem on the Germans, tells us, that they made uſe of butter to oil their hair.

Infundunt acido comam butyro.

(*c*) The refinements of the culinary ſcience were unknown to the Germans. Pomponius Mela ſays, that they fed on the raw fleſh of animals, either recently killed, or after it was pounded in the hide by their feet and hands to ſome degree of ſoftneſs. See Mela, b. iii. ch. 3. The Romans, on the contrary, ſtudied the pleaſures of the table, and luxury was in ſuch vogue, that,

that, as we are told by Pliny, the price of a triumph was not too much for a good cook. The man who by his exquiſite ſkill could enable his maſter to eat up his fortune, was in the higheſt requeſt. *Coqui triumphorum pretiis parabuntur; nulluſque prope jam mortalis æſtimatur pluris, quam qui peritiſſimè cenſum domini mergit.* Plin. lib. ix. ſ. 17. Statius, in an elegant poem, giving an account of the manner in which he paſſed a night with a friend, ſays, they had no faſhionable diſhes, no rarities from diſtant climates, and no wines of an age to vie with conſuls of ancient date. Wretched they, who know the difference between the Phaſian bird and the crane of Rhodopè; who can tell what kind of gooſe has the largeſt liver; why the Tuſcan boar exceeds the Umbrian; and on which coaſt may be found the beſt bed of oyſters!

——————— Neque enim ludibria ventris
Hauſimus, aut epulas diverſo a ſole petitas,
Vinaque perpetuis ævo certantia faſtis.
Ah! miſeri, quos noſſe juvat quid Phaſidos ales
Diſtat ab hybernâ Rhodopes grue; quis magis anſer
Exta ferat; cur Thuſcus aper generoſior Umbro;
Lubrica quâ recubant conchylia mollius algâ.
STAT. SYLV. lib. iv. poem. 6.

Florus relates, that the Cimbrians, after their expedition over the Alps, loſt all their ferocity by the uſe of bread, meat dreſſed at the fire, and the delicious wines of Italy; and, by conſequence, were more eaſily defeated by Marius. Florus, b. iii. ch. 3.

(*d*) Thus we know, that the Europeans, when they ſettled in North America, ſoon found it their intereſt to ſupply the natives with ſpirituous liquors. They waged a war of gin and brandy againſt the various tribes, ſome of which have been ſubdued, and others almoſt totally extirpated

ed by their own drunkenneſs. See Charlevoix, letter viii. The ſame writer ſays, that a ſavage, being aſked by a French officer what he thought the brandy, which he loved ſo much, was made of, gave for anſwer: "It is made of *tongues and* "*hearts*; for when I have drunk of it, I fear no-"thing; and I talk like an angel." Letter xxi. p. 83.

Section XXIV.

(*a*) Public exhibitions coſt the Athenians more than their wars. At Rome the expence was enormous, and the profeſſion of a player was ſo profitable, that, according to Pliny, Roſcius gained annually a ſum almoſt incredible. In the luxury of the times that followed, immenſe fortunes were acquired by the public performers.

(*b*) The rage for gaming, which has been obſerved among barbarians in almoſt every quarter of the globe, may be accounted for without much difficulty. The life of a ſavage is paſſed in war, in hunting, fiſhing, and in ſcenes of plunder and rapine. When that employment no longer calls for his exertions, he ſinks down in liſtleſs indolence. The ordinary occurrences of the day have nothing to rouſe his faculties. Tired of himſelf and of languid apathy, he wants ſome object to excite and agitate his paſſions. Gaming anſwers this purpoſe. Every thing is put to the deciſion of chance; hope and fear ſucceed each other; and joy and rage, and pleaſure and diſappointment excite the ſtrongeſt emotions of the ſoul. The danger of loſing his whole ſtock, and even his liberty, relieves the ſavage from the oppreſſion under which he laboured. The deeper the play, the more his paſſions are alarmed; and that

that inward conflict, that agitation of the mind, is the incentive that makes him delight in games of chance. Brotier quotes a remarkable paſſage from St. Ambroſe, who gives a lively picture of a barbarous people engaged at play. The Huns, he ſays, a fierce and warlike race, are always ſubject to a ſet of uſurers, who lend them what they want for the purpoſes of gaming. They live without laws, and yet obey the laws of dice. *Et cum ſine legibus vivant, aleæ ſolius legibus obedire.* St. Ambroſe adds, that when the unſucceſsful gameſter has loſt his all, he ſets his liberty, and even his life, upon a ſingle caſt, and is accounted infamous if he does not pay his debts of honour. Upon this principle, a perſon, well known to the Roman emperor, ſuffered death at the command of the winner. Lafitau has an entire chapter concerning the love of play among the ſavages of America. He deſcribes their manner of ſupplying the want of dice, by forming the bones of animals to a convenient ſize, with ſix faces, but two larger than the reſt, one of them black, and the other of a pale yellow hue. One half of a village plays againſt the other, and often village againſt village. They hazard all they have, and frequently retire ſtark naked in the deep ſnow and rigour of the winter. They even ſtake their liberty, and go willingly into ſervitude. Lafitau cites Father Labat to prove the ſame cuſtom among the negroes of Africa. *Mœurs dei Sauvages,* vol. ii. p. 338 to 359. See alſo Charlevoix, vol. ii. p. 12 and 13. Dr. Robertſon ſays, the ſame cauſes, which ſo often prompt perſons in civilized life to have recourſe to this paſtime, render it the delight of the ſavage. Both run with tranſport to whatever is intereſting enough to ſtir and agitate their minds. Hence the Americans, who at other times

times are so indifferent, so phlegmatic, so silent, and animated with so few desires, as soon as they engage at play, become rapacious, impatient, noisy, and almost frantic with eagerness. Their furs, their domestic utensils, their clothes, their arms are staked at the gaming-table; and when all is lost, high as their sense of independence is, in a wild emotion of despair or hope, they will often risk their personal liberty upon a single cast. *History of America*, vol. ii. p. 202 and 203. The love of play and dice is, undoubtedly, a passion of great antiquity, and will not easily be eradicated. A writer in Churchill's Voyages says, he went to St. Cosmo, half a league from Mexico, to see the house and gardens of Don John de Vargas; the first finely finished, and the second full of fountains. This gentleman keeps his coach and six, spends six thousand pieces of eight a year, without any other revenue but what he has from cards and dice. On some nights he wins thirty thousand pieces of eight. Churchill's *Voyages*, vol. iv. p. 508. Have not such persons been heard of in Europe, and in modern times? St. Ambrose, in the tract quoted above, assigns the reason: Dice have their laws, which the courts of justice cannot conquer. *Habet et alea suas leges, quas jura fori non solvunt.* See Senftlebius, *De Alea Veterum*, p. 14.

Section XXV.

(*a*) See in Tacitus (*Annals*, b. xiv. f. 43) an account of Pedanius Secundus, who had fourscore servants in his family, with specific names for their several departments. This was called his city establishment, *familia urbana*. In the country the Romans had their rural slaves under different

different appellations. In Germany the ſlaves were prædial ſervants, not indeed at liberty, but annexed to the ſoil, *glebæ adſcripti*. Their condition, Brotier obſerves, was the ſame as that of the vaſſals, or SERFS, who, a few centuries ago, were ſo numerous in every part of Europe. The German conquerors, in imitation of the Romans, had their real ſlaves, while thoſe who remained in a ſtate of rural vaſſalage were called LIDI. This diſtinction appears in the SALIC LAW, tit. xxx. See in Spelman's *Gloſſary*, title *Villanus*. Villenage was a ſpecies of tenure manifeſtly derived from the Germans.

(*b*) A compoſition was paid for homicide; but ſtill, it ſeems, a man might kill his ſlave with impunity. The Salic law provided afterwards, that he who killed the ſlave of another, was obliged to pay a certain fine, and the expence of the ſuit.

(*c*) The ſlave at Rome, when manumitted, was called LIBERTUS, and his deſcendants were LIBERTINI. In proceſs of time, when the Franks, in their new poſſeſſions, became acquainted with money, the ceremony of enfranchiſement was performed by ſtriking out of the ſlave's hand a DENARIUS, and from that circumſtance the freedman was called DENARIATUS. Their rank, however, was little higher than that of a ſlave; and by the Ripuarian law, tit. lvii. lex. 4, if a freedman died without iſſue, his fortune went to the public treaſury.

(*d*) As often as an opportunity offers, Tacitus has an eye to the manners of his own country. He glances, in this place, at Pallas, Narciſſus, Icelus, and others of that deſcription, who, under Claudius, Nero, and Galba, roſe to the firſt eminence in the ſtate. The tyranny of ſuch men was a galling yoke to every liberal mind. Nerva,

Trajan, and the Antonines never tranſacted any kind of public buſineſs by the intervention of their freedmen. We are told that Adrian, ſeeing one of his ſlaves walking, with a familiar air, between two ſenators, ordered a perſon to go directly and give the impudent fellow a box on the face, with this monition, "Learn more reſpect "for thoſe, to whom you may be transferred as "a ſlave." Tacitus informs us, that Agricola never ſuffered his ſlaves or freedmen to play the part of agents in the affairs of his adminiſtration. See *Life of Agricola*, ſ. 19. It is obſerved by Monteſquieu (*Spirit of Laws*, b. xv. ch. 18.), that the freedmen under the emperors paid their court to the weakneſſes of their maſters, and then taught them to reign by their vices, not their virtues. It is remarkable that the ſame abuſe of power that prevailed at Rome under the worſt of the emperors, was alſo felt in thoſe parts of Germany where monarchy and deſpotiſm were eſtabliſhed.

(*e*) We have here four diſtinct ranks; the nobles, the men of ingenuous birth, the freedmen, and the ſlaves. In Gaul, according to Cæſar, there were two principal orders of men, the druids and the nobles, the common people being little better than ſlaves. Book vi. ſ. 12. The Franks, in imitation of their German anceſtors, had four claſſes of men; their nobles, their ingenuous, their LIDI, and their ſlaves: and this, Monteſquieu obſerves, is clearly proved by the compoſition for offences proportioned to the different ranks of the ſeveral complainants. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xxx. ch. 25. See *Memoires de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres*, vol. xxxvii. p. 541.

Section

Section XXVI.

(*a*) The practice of laying out money at exorbitant intereſt, and exacting payment with harſh ſeverity, was an ancient grievance at Rome, and a perpetual cauſe of clamour and ſedition. Laws, it is true, were made at various times to ſuppreſs the miſchief; but thoſe laws were eluded, becauſe, as Tacitus ſays, the public good gave way to private emolument. See *Annals*, b. vi. f. 16, and note (*a*).

(*b*) The critics make it a queſtion, whether it ſhould be *per vices* or *per vicos*. But whether we underſtand that the Germans cultivated the lands by turns, or removed to different places, the difference does not ſeem to be material. It is, however, aſcertained by Cæſar, that the magiſtrates portioned out yearly to every canton or family a quantity of land in what part of the country they thought proper, and in the next year removed to ſome other ſpot. Many reaſons are aſſigned for this practice; leſt, ſeduced by habit and continuance, they ſhould learn to prefer tillage to war; leſt a deſire of enlarging their poſſeſſions ſhould prevail, and prompt the ſtronger to expel the weaker; leſt they ſhould become curious in their buildings, in order to guard againſt the extremes of heat and cold; leſt avarice ſhould get footing among them; and, in fine, to preſerve contentment and equanimity among the people, when they find their poſſeſſions nothing inferior to thoſe of the moſt powerful. *De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. f. 21. See Duncan's Cæſar, b. vi. f. 20. Horace deſcribes the Scythians wandering, in like manner, from place to place, and never occupying the ſame ſpot for more than a ſingle year.

Campeſtres melius Scythæ,
Quorum plauſtra vagas rite trahunt domos,
Vivunt, et rigidi Getæ,
Immetata quibus jugera liberas
Fruges et Cererem ferunt,
Nec cultura placet longior annuâ.
Lib. iii. ode 24.

(*c*) In the firſt ages of the world, the year was diſtinguiſhed by two ſeaſons only. Moſes mentions ſeed-time and harveſt, ſummer and winter. *Geneſis*, ch. viii. In proceſs of time, the exertions of induſtry marked out other periods; but all that the Germans wanted of the earth was corn and grain, and, the harveſt being over, they had no fruits to expect in autumn. Brotier ſays, the Germans at this day have no diſtinct word in their language for the autumnal ſeaſon. The term that ſatisfies them is HERBST, harveſt. Beyond that period, the ancient Germans knew no productions of the earth, having neither orchards nor fruit-trees; and accordingly the Anglo-Saxon language has no name for autumn. That word in Engliſh was borrowed from the Latin. The *fall of the leaf* is a paraphraſtical expreſſion, denoting that ſeaſon of the year by the decay of nature, not by the maturity of her fruits.

Section XXVII.

(*a*) The ſimplicity of the Germans is placed by Tacitus, as often as the occaſion permits, in direct contraſt to Roman luxury and magnificence. Pliny relates, that Cæcilius Claudius Iſidorus ordered for himſelf a pompous funeral, which coſt a ſum almoſt incredible. Book xxxii.

And

And the ſame author ſays, that Arabia does not produce in a whole year the quantity of ſpice conſumed by Nero at the funeral of Poppæa. Book xii. The Romans borrowed their ſuperfluous pomp from the eaſtern nations, and particularly from the Perſians, who did not burn the dead bodies, but depoſited them in ſepulchres of ſuperb ſtructure, where they heaped an immenſe quantity of ſpices, and a profuſion of rich ornaments. Plutarch mentions at the funeral of Sylla two hundred and ten plates of exquiſite ſpices, and the images of Sylla and his lictor conſtructed with frankincenſe and cinnamon. The following lines in Lucan, deſcribing the laſt honours paid by Cornelia to the remains of Pompey the Great, happily illuſtrate the cuſtom of the Romans:

Collegit veſtes miſerique inſignia Magni,
Armaque, et impreſſas auro, quas gefferat olim,
Exuvias, pictaſque togas, velamina ſummo
Ter conſpecta Jovi, funeſtoque intulit igni.
PHARSAL. lib. ix. v. 175.

To her lord's ſhade ſhe builds a fun'ral pile,
And decks it proud with many a noble ſpoil.
There ſhone his arms with antique gold inlaid,
There the rich robes, which ſhe herſelf had made;
The relics of his paſt victorious days
Now this his lateſt trophy ſerve to raiſe,
And in one common flame together blaze.
ROWE, b. ix. v. 294.

(*b*) The things which a German valued moſt, were his arms and his horſe. Theſe were added to the funeral pile, with a perſuaſion that the deceaſed would have the ſame delight in his new ſtate of exiſtence. Hence the ſame cuſtom in almoſt every quarter of the globe, particularly in the northern parts of Europe. It is true that Tacitus

Tacitus does not expreſsly tell us that the Germans believed in the immortality of the ſoul; but in ſect. 39, we find, that they had a conception of a Supreme God, the Governor of the world; *regnator omnium Deus, cætera ſubjecta atque parentia.* And ſince it is evident, that the Icelandic mythology attributed to the Deity infinite power, boundleſs knowledge, and incorruptible juſtice; ſince it appears that they did not allow the Divinity to be repreſented under any corporeal form, nor to be confined within the incloſure of walls; and ſince they were taght to offer up their adoration in woods and conſecrated foreſts; it may be fairly inferred from that ſtriking coincidence in the religious opinions of both nations, that the belief of a future ſtate was part of the German creed. See *Northern Antiquities*, ch.v. We read, that in the tomb of Childeric, king of the Franks, his ſpear, his ſword, with his other warlike weapons, and even his horſe's head, were found in his tomb. An human ſkull was alſo diſcovered, ſuppoſed to be that of his faithful follower. See Montfaucon, *Les Monumens de la Monarchie Françoiſe*, tom. i. p. 10. Lafitau, Charlevoix, and other travellers, deſcribe the ſame notions of a future ſtate, and the ſame funeral ceremonies, among the ſavages of America. Dr. Robertſon ſays, as they imagine that departed ſpirits begin their career anew in the world whither they are gone, they bury, together with the bodies of the dead, their bow, their arrows, and other weapons uſed in hunting or war; they depoſit in their tomb the ſkins or ſtuffs of which they make garments, Indian corn, veniſon, domeſtic utenſils, and whatever is reckoned among the neceſſaries in their ſimple mode of life. *Hiſt. of America*, vol. ii. b. 4. See alſo *European Settlements in America*, vol.

vol. i. p. 183. Virgil deſcribes a funeral ceremony exactly ſimilar to that of the Germans.

> At pius Æneas ingenti mole ſepulcrum
> Imponit, ſuaque arma viro, remumque tubamque.
> ÆNEID. lib. vi. v. 232.

> This done, to ſolemnize the warrior's doom,
> The pious hero rais'd a lofty tomb.
> The tow'ring top his well-known enſigns bore,
> His arms, his once loud trump, and tap'ring oar.
> PITT's VIRGIL.

(*c*) Sentiments of a ſimilar kind occur in Seneca, and, perhaps, the diſtinguiſhing critic may trace ſome reſemblance in the expreſſion. A year, he ſays, is allowed to female grief, not with intent that the whole time ſhould be ſo employed, but that it ſhould not be protracted longer. No time is preſcribed to the men, becauſe none is proper. *Annum fœminis ad lugendum conſtituere majores, non ut tamdiu lugerent, ſed ne diutius: viris nullum legitimum tempus eſt, quia nullum honeſtum.* Epiſt. 64. In another place, he ſays, Our anceſtors did not forbid grief and mourning, but they fixed the bounds; obſerving a juſt mean between the tenderneſs of affection and the rules of reaſon: they wiſely ſaid, Feel regret for your friends, but conquer it. *Majores noſtri non prohibuerunt luctus, ſed finierunt: optimum inter pietatem et rationem temperamentum eſt, et ſentire deſiderium, et opprimere. De Conſol.* cap. 15. He talks in another place of birds and other animals that love their young with ardent affection; but their love dies with their offſpring. This, he ſays, does not become a man: let him continue to remember, but let him ceaſe to grieve. *Meminiſſe perſeveret, lugere deſinat.* Epiſt. xcix. The ſame rule has taken place among

among the American ſavages. Lafitau obſerves, that the women vent their grief in ſongs of bitter lamentation, and floods of tears; but the men conſider that exceſs as a weakneſs beneath their dignity. They ſit in penſive ſilence, and grieve inwardly; ſenſible of their loſs, but not unmanned by tenderneſs. The author of the *European Settlements in America* ſays, the women lament the loſs with bitter cries, and the moſt hideous howlings, intermixed with ſongs, which celebrate the great actions of the deceaſed, and thoſe of his anceſtors. The men mourn in a leſs extravagant manner. *European Settlements in America*, vol. i. p. 183.

Section XXVIII.

(*a*) We are now come to what may be called the ſecond part of this Treatiſe. The author has taken a ſurvey of the general manners, and he now proceeds to give a diſtinct account of the ſeveral ſtates that occupied the various diviſions of the country. It has been obſerved (ſ. i. note *a*), that the Upper and Lower Germany, which lay on the ſide of Gaul, *Gallia Ciſrhenana*, is not compriſed in this inquiry. It is Germany beyond the Rhine, *Germania Tranſrhenana*, that the author intends to deſcribe. He begins his chart near the head of the Rhine, and follows down the current of that river to its mouth, where it diſcharges itſelf into the German Ocean. From that place he proceeds eaſtward along the coaſt of the Baltic to the Viſtula, or the Weiſſel. Tacitus accedes to the opinion of Julius Cæſar, who ſays, that formerly the Gauls exceeded the Germans in military fame, often made war upon them, and, abounding in people, ſent ſeveral colonies

colonies over the Rhine. Accordingly the VOLCÆ took poſſeſſion of the fertile plains in the neighbourhood of the Hercynian foreſt, known to Greek writers by the name of *Orcinia*. They were diſtinguiſhed by their bravery, and no leſs remarkable than the Germans for their poverty, their abſtinence, and laborious way of life. Cæſar, *De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. ſ. 23. It is worthy of notice, that Tacitus calls Cæſar the moſt reſpectable of authors, SUMMUS AUCTORUM, and yet, in ſome inſtances, differs from him. It is therefore reaſonable to conclude, that, whenever a variance ariſes between them, Tacitus did not wilfully ſeek occaſion to contradict a writer of great authority. Many years had paſſed ſince Cæſar threw his bridge over the Rhine; the Romans had penetrated farther into the heart of the country; new channels of information were opened, and time had, probably, wrought many changes.

(*b*) The Hercynian foreſt, according to Cæſar's account, was about nine days journey in breadth; that being the only way of computing it, as the Germans were ignorant of the uſe of meaſures. It began from the confines of the Helvetians, the Nemetes, and Rauraci, and extending towards the Danube, reached the territory of the Dacians; and turning thence from the banks of the river, covered a vaſt tract of country. Numbers travelled ſix days into this foreſt, yet no one pretended to have reached the fartheſt limit. Cæſar, *De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. ſ. 24. Pliny the elder, who had been in Germany, gives a deſcription of this prodigious foreſt, lib. xvi. ſ. 2. Gronovius and other commentators ſay, that the German word is *Hirtſenwald*, importing the foreſt of ſtags. The Romans ſoftened the barbarous ſound to their own idiom, by calling

calling it *Hercynia Silva*. It is now cut down in many places, or parcelled out into woods, which go by particular names, ſuch as the Black Foreſt; *La Forêt de Hartz*. Some of the woods in Bohemia are ſuppoſed to be a remnant of the Hercynian foreſt. The Helvetians inhabited originally what is now called Switzerland, with a wide tract of country extending towards Lyons. The time when they migrated into Germany cannot now be aſcertained. It is known, however, that they ſettled in Germany near the Hercynian Foreſt, and occupied the country now called Suabia, between the Rhine, the Mænus, or the Mein, and the Black Foreſt.

(*c*) The Boians were originally a people of Gaul, bordering on the Helvetians, in the country now called the Bourbonnois. The time of their migration into Germany cannot be fixed with preciſion. Livy mentions a colony of Gauls ſent into Germany in the reign of Tarquinius Priſcus. He ſays, that Ambigatus, king of the Bituriges, who reigned over the Celtæ, being the third part of Gaul, ſent his ſiſter's ſon Sigoveſus into the Hercynian Foreſt, in order to diſcharge a redundant multitude from his own dominions, which, at that time, were greatly over-peopled. Book v. f. 34. It is moſt probable that the Boians and Helvetians joined in that expedition. La Bletterie is of opinion that the Boians occupied part of what is now called Bohemia. He ſays, the old German term *heim* or *haim* ſignifies habitation, and thence the French derived *hameau*; and the compound word *Boiohæmum* was *the habitation of the Boians*. We read in Velleius Paterculus (lib. ii. f. 109) that *Boiohæmum* was the name of the country occupied by Maroboduus. In the reign of Auguſtus Cæſar the Boians, expelled by the Marcomanni,

Marcomanni, retired towards the Danube, where their territory was called Boiaria, now Bavaria.

(*d*) Of these two nations little is now known. It is, however, probable that the Aravisçians inhabited the Upper Hungary, and that the Osians occupied the eastern part of the country near the source of the Vistula. Tacitus doubts whether the latter were a German race, and, in sect. 43, he seems convinced, by their use of the Pannonian language, and the acquiescence with which they submitted to pay a tribute, that they were adventitious settlers in Germany. The commentators make it probable that they bordered on the Marcomanni, and occupied the northern part of Hungary beyond the Danube. See Pelloutier, *Histoire des Celtes*, vol. i. p. 184.

(*e*) The Treverians inhabited what is now called *the diocese of Treves*; the territory of the Nervians was near Cambray. See more concerning the Nervians, Cæsar's *Comment.* lib. ii.

(*f*) These three nations migrated from Germany into Gaul. The Vangiones, according to Brotier, occupied *the diocese of Worms*; the Triboci, *the diocese of Strasbourg*; the Nemetes, *the diocese of Spire*. Though originally Germans, they were all settled in Gaul before Cæsar carried his victorious arms through every part of the country.

(*g*) During Cæsar's wars in Gaul, the Ubians, then settled on the German side of the Rhine, sent their ambassadors to the Roman general, and, having delivered hostages, and formed an alliance, implored his protection against the Suevians, by whom they were dreadfully oppressed. It was in consequence of these remonstrances that Cæsar resolved to build his bridge over the Rhine. *De Bell. Gall.* lib. iv. s. 16. From that time the Ubians were obnoxious to the German nation.

nation. Their alliance with the Romans, and their having called in a foreign aid, inflamed the indignation of their enemies. Preſſed and perſecuted by the Cattians, they applied to the Romans for a ſafe retreat on the Gallic ſide of the Rhine. Their requeſt was granted, and lands were aſſigned to them in the country now called the Electorate of Cologne. The exact time of this migration cannot now be fixed with certainty. Agrippa commanded in Gaul in the years of Rome 716 and 735; and it was, moſt probably, in one of thoſe expeditions that he received the Ubians under the protection of Rome. The Ubians in their new ſettlement built a city on the banks of the Rhine. It was the birth-place of Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, and the mother of Nero. Being married afterwards to the emperor Claudius, ſhe eſtabliſhed a colony of veterans in the city of the Ubians, which was from that time called *the Agrippinian colony*; and thence the modern name of *Cologne*. The people were pleaſed with a title, which at once did honour to their protectreſs, and recalled the name of the firſt founder. See *Annals*, b. xii. f. 27.

Section XXIX.

(*a*) The Batavians are often celebrated by Tacitus for their bravery, their ſkill in ſwimming acroſs rivers, and their faithful attachment to the intereſt of Rome. In the ſecond book of the *Annals*, f. 10, we find them fighting under Germanicus. In the fourth book of the *Hiſtory*, they are ſaid to be originally of the Cattian nation. Driven out by their countrymen, they occupied a marſhy iſland, formed by the German Ocean and two branches of the Rhine. They adhered

adhered with unſhaken conſtancy to the Romans. They ſerved in Britain as auxiliaries, and in Italy under Vitellius. Inflamed at length by the turbulent ſpirit of CIVILIS, they threw off the yoke, and, having ſtormed the Roman encampments, obliged the legions to lay down their arms, and even to ſwear fidelity to the empire of the Gauls. See the account of this war in the fourth and fifth books of the *Hiſtory*. The Batavian iſland is ſaid in the *Annals*, b. ii. ſ. 6, to be formed by two branches of the Rhine; one running in a direct courſe, and with a rapid current, till it empties itſelf in the German Ocean; the other, more gentle, falling into the Vahal (now the Waal), and thence through the broad mouth of the Moſa (the Meuſe) into the Ocean. It is certain, however, that there was another outlet, ſince Tacitus mentions the canal made by Druſus, the father of Germanicus, through which the Rhine had a communication with ſeveral prodigious lakes that diſcharged themſelves into the Ocean. Germanicus ſailed through the canal of Druſus to the open ſea. See *Annals*, b. ii. ſ. 8. Grotius, the ſcholar, and, it may be added, the rival of Tacitus, in his *Hiſtory of the Wars with Spain*, which, in imitation of his maſter, he called Annals, has given an account of the country, that may with propriety be inſerted in this place. The iſle of Batavia was famous in ancient times. Lying between Gaul and Germany, it afforded convenient opportunities for carrying on the operations of war. The inhabitants were originally a people of the Cattians. Having formed an alliance with the Romans, they furniſhed levies, and were ſubject to no other burthen; diſtinguiſhed by their ſkill in horſemanſhip, their dexterity in ſwimming, and their bravery no leſs than their fidelity.

fidelity. When Civilis, in the beginning of Veſpaſian's reign, excited them to revolt, and rouſed the people of Gaul to aſſert their liberty, they carried on the war with undaunted valour. *Antiquis temporibus nobiliſſima fuit Batavorum inſula. Germanis Galliſque media, poſitu ad ducendum tranſmittendumque bellum opportuniſſimo. Nomen habitatoribus et origo a Cattis. Romanâ ſocietate, extra dilectus, cætera ſui juris egere; equitandi, nandi peritia, fide, virtute auxiliarium honoratiſſimi. Nec minus clari eo bello, quo, ſub initia Veſpaſiani, Civili duce, Gallias ad libertatem excitarunt.* Grotius goes on to give a deſcription of the iſle of Batavia. The Rhine, he ſays, branching off into the Vahal, and flowing alſo in another channel, where it ſtill retained its own name, embraced the iſland of Batavia, and through two different mouths diſcharged itſelf into the ocean. That which lay to the right, and opened to the ſea near Leyden, being narrow and ſcanty, was in time loſt in the Leck and a waſte of ſand. The other branch of the river, which ran into the Vahal, flowed into the Meuſe, and through that opening emptied itſelf into the German Ocean. At preſent, before it reaches the mouth of the Meuſe, it waſhes a number of iſlands, and, being frequently ſwelled by inundations from the ſea, it ſpreads a ſurface more like a ſea than the current of a river. The third channel, through which the Rhine flows on the right hand further towards the north, was the military work of Druſus. The river falling through that artificial canal into the Iſſel, and thence into the lakes, which divide the two nations of the Friſians, contracted its current near the iſle of Flevus, and took the name of that place during the reſt of its courſe into the ocean. But the face of this whole country has been ſo changed

changed by inundations, that now the whole body of water looks more like an irruption of the ſea, than the bed of a river. *Eam inſulam Rhenus in Vahalim et ſui nominis alveum diſtinctus, et duobus maxime capitibus in oceanum influens, amplectitur. Dextrum Lugduno non procul exibat, olim etiam tenue, poſt vi tempeſtatis ſabulo obſtructum, aquas in Leccam vertit. Siniſtro Moſæ mixtus Vahalis oſtio tenus ripis continebatur. Hodie, antequam eo perveniat, varias inſulas interfuſus, ob crebra diluvia in maris ſpeciem tranſiit. Tertium Rheno oſtium, quod a dextro longius in Septentriones abit, Druſus aperuit. Nam in Iſalam flumen perductus amnis opere militari, inde ſe immergens in lacus, quibus Friſiorum nationes diſtinebantur, arctatuſque apud Flevum inſulam, hoc eodem accepto nomine in oceanum effluebat. Cæterum et hæc facies locorum ita mutata eſt, ut non emitti fluvius, ſed contra, mare terras irrupiſſe, et, anguſto primum ingreſſu, laxare mox ſe in ſpatium ingentis ſinus videbatur.* The bay or gulf mentioned by Grotius, is called a lake by Tacitus, and now bears the name of *Zuiderzee*. Heylin, in his *Coſmography*, gives to the Rhine four openings into the ſea. The firſt is called the Wael, which, running through Gelderland by Nimmegen, loſes itſelf in the Maes; the ſecond, which keeps the name of the Rhine, paſſes by Arnhem, and thence in a contracted channel to Utrecht, and ſo through Holland and Leyden. The third, called the Leck, takes its courſe through the provinces of Utrecht and Holland, and ſo into the ſea betwixt Dort and Rotterdam. And the fourth, called the Yſſell, which paſſing by the towns of Zulphen and Deventer, betwixt Gelderland and Over-Yſſell, empties itſelf into the ocean near Amſterdam. Heylin, p. 310. From theſe accounts it is evident, that the Vahal, or Wael, flowed

flowed on the weſtern ſide of Batavia; but which of the other two, according to Tacitus and Grotius, or the three, according to Heylin, waſhed the right hand ſide of the iſland, remains uncertain. The commentators are agreed, that the name of the iſland, which was probably latiniſed by the Romans, implied a flat marſhy country; and, to confirm their opinion, they obſerve that there is at this day, between the Rhine and the Leck, a low ſwampy diſtrict called BETUVE.

(*b*) The Mattiaci inhabited lands between the Rhine and the Viſurgis (the WESER). Their country was partly in Weteravie, and partly in Heſſe. Brotier ſays, Mattium, their capital, is now called Marpurg, and that the fountains (FONTES MATTIACI) are known by the name of Wis-baden, near Mentz.

(*c*) The country where the decumate lands were ſituated is now called Suabia. During Cæſar's wars in Gaul, the Marcomanni were in poſſeſſion. In the time of Auguſtus, Maroboduus, their king, a brave, politic, and ambitious prince, ſaw that the Rhine was not a ſufficient barrier between him and the Roman arms. He reſolved to ſeek a new habitation in a more remote part of the country. Migrations in Germany were attended with little difficulty. They had neither fortified towns, nor houſes ſtrongly built; and all their wealth conſiſted in herds of cattle. Maroboduus, at the head of the Marcomanni, marched into Bohemia, and expelled the Boians. Suabia being thus evacuated, the neighbouring Gauls were invited by the fertility of the ſoil. A band of adventurers, ſuppoſed to be the Sequani, the Rauraci, and Helvetii, took poſſeſſion of the vacant lands; and, being ſubjects of the empire, they continued to own their former maſters, and, as was neceſſary in their new

new ſituation, to crave the protection of Rome. The Romans, in return, demanded a tenth of the product of the lands. Hence they were called *decumates*. Cicero ſays, the whole ſoil of Sicily is decuman. *Omnis ager Siciliæ decumanus eſt.* The tithe of their products was the tribute uſually paid by the provinces that made a voluntary ſubmiſſion to the Romans. Suabia was converted by the new ſettlers into a Roman province, and, as Tacitus expreſsly ſays, was defended from the incurſions of the Germans by a chain of poſts. Tacitus wrote his Treatiſe in the ſecond conſulſhip of Trajan. That emperor repaired all the forts erected by Druſus, and the ſeveral commanders in Germany. Hadrian raiſed a rampart, which extended from Neuſtadt, on the banks of the Danube, over a large tract of country as far as the Neckar, near Wimpſen; a ſpace of ſixty French leagues. This rampart, La Bletterie ſays, ſubſiſted in the time of Aurelian, but could then no longer withſtand the irruption of the German nations. Thoſe fierce invaders bore down all oppoſition, till the emperor Probus checked their progreſs, and, in the place of the former rampart, which was raiſed with wood and turf, built a ſtone wall to repreſs the enemy. The deſign was grand, but it proved ineffectual. About the beginning of the third century of the Chriſtian æra, the Germans began to ſee, that, while they fought in detached parties, the general intereſt was in danger. The ſpirit of liberty was rouſed, and a combination was formed to act with the united vigour of all Germany. Towards the Lower Rhine a league was formed under the name of the FRANKS; a word that ſignified FREEMEN. Towards the ſouthern parts of the Rhine, the people bordering on the decumate lands, and the ſtone wall of Probus, eſtabliſhed another confederation,

under the name of ALLMANNI, importing that it was the league of a brave people, ALL MEN; *omnes viri.* In the following verſes of Claudian we find that poet no ſtranger to the name of the *Franks* and the *Alamanni.*

> ——————Pavidoque orantes murmure FRANCI
> Procubuêre ſolo. Juratur Honorius abſens,
> Imploratque tuum ſupplex ALAMANNIA nomen.
> DE IV. CONSULAT. HONORII, v. 447.

In the time of Diocleſian and Maximin, the wall built by Probus was overturned by the German invaders, who poſſeſſed themſelves of the decumate country, and called it ALAMANNIA. The word has been adopted by the French, who call Germany by the name of ALMAGNE, and the Germans, les ALESMANS. See *Alſatia Illuſtrata*, tom. i. p. 174 and 241.

Section XXX.

(*a*) The territory of the Mattiaci is ſaid by the commentators to have been between the Rhine, the Mayne, the river Sala, and part of the Hercynian Foreſt near the Weſer; now the countries of Heſſe, Thuringia, part of Paderborn, and Franconia. Brotier ſays, that what Cæſar, Florus, and Ptolemy have remarked of the Suevi, ſhould always be underſtood of the Catti. Leibnitz ſuppoſes that the people were called CATTI, from ſome reſemblance in point of agility to a cat, the German word for that animal being CATTE.

(*b*) Brotier quotes a paſſage from Vegetius, in which that author gives a lively deſcription of the form and ſtructure of body proper for a ſoldier. Let the youth intended for a martial life have a quick

quick piercing eye, a neck firm and erect, an open cheſt, broad and muſcular ſhoulders, ſtrong fingers, a length of arm, the belly not too prominent, legs well ſhaped, without ſuperfluous fleſh either on the calf or the foot, well braced with hard and cloſe compacted ſinews. Vegetius, lib. i. cap. 6.

(*c*) This was an improvement in military diſcipline beyond the reſt of the Germans. In the Roman armies the general was the main ſtrength; and accordingly Livy ſays, it was evident that the republic ſucceeded more by her general officers than by the armies of the commonwealth. *Ut facile appareret ducibus validiorem quam exercitu rem Romanam eſſe.* Livy, lib. ii. Florus expreſſes a ſimilar thought with his uſual brevity: *Tanti exercitus, quanti imperator.* Lib. ii. cap. 18. The value of an army is in proportion to the ſkill of the general. Quintilian agrees with the two hiſtorians: he ſays, If we make a fair eſtimate, it is by military diſcipline that the Roman name has flouriſhed to this day with undiminiſhed luſtre. We do not abound in numbers more than other nations; nor are our bodies more robuſt than the Cimbrians. We are not richer than many powerful monarchies; our contempt of death does not exceed that of the barbarians, who have no allurement to make them fond of life. What gives us the advantage over other nations, is the military ſyſtem eſtabliſhed by the inſtitutions of our anceſtors; our attention to diſcipline; our love of labour, and our conſtant preparation for war, aſſiduouſly kept alive by unremitting exerciſe. We conquered more by our manners, than by force of arms. Quintilian, *Pro Milite*, Declam. iii. ſ. 14.

Section XXXI.

(*a*) Vows of this kind occur in the hiſtory of various nations. In the days of chivalry the ſame cuſtom prevailed, and manifeſtly owed its origin to the practice of the Germans, who overran all Europe. He who undertook a bold enterpriſe, or thirſted for revenge, made a vow never to ſleep in a bed, nor take off his clothes day or night, till he had executed his grand deſign. Upon this principle Civilis, the Batavian chief, curtails his hair and beard as ſoon as he had performed his promiſe. See Tacitus, *Hiſtory*, b. iv. ſ. 61. Lipſius, in his note on that paſſage, mentions from the Hiſtory of the Langobards ſix thouſand Saxons, who ſurvived the ſlaughter of their countrymen, and bound themſelves, by a ſolemn vow, neither to ſhave their beards nor cut their hair, till they had revenged themſelves on the Suevian nation. Brotier relates the ſame fact from Warnefrid's *Hiſtory of the Lombards*, b. iii. ch. 7. This practice of encouraging the growth of the hair was known to Silius Italicus; and accordingly that poet mentions, among the ſlain in one of his battles, a Gaul, who had bound himſelf by a ſimilar vow, never to be ſhorn till he returned victorious from the field of battle.

> Occumbit Sarmens, flavam qui ponere victor
> Cæſariem, crinemque tibi, Gradive, vovebat
> Auro certantem, et rutilum ſub vertice nodum.
> BELL. PUNIC. lib. iv. v. 200.

A modern inſtance of this cuſtom occurs in Strada's *Hiſtory of the Wars between Spain and the United Provinces*. After relating at ſome length the charge againſt Egmont and Horn, with their ſentence and execution, the hiſtorian adds, that William

William Lume, one of the counts of Marc, bound himſelf by a barbarian vow (as Civilis the Batavian chief had formerly done in his war with the Romans) not to diveſt himſelf of his hair till he obtained revenge for the deaths of the two ſlaughtered heroes. Strada, *De Bello Belgico,* lib. vii. p. 338. Grotius relates the ſame event with the brevity of his maſter Tacitus. Egmont and Horn, he ſays, two men no leſs diſtinguiſhed by their martial exploits than by their illuſtrious birth, were brought forth at Bruſſels as ſoon as maſs was ended, and, by order of the duke of Alva, executed on a public ſcaffold. Their heads, affixed to two high poles, exhibited a public ſpectacle, which the Dutch beheld with horror. A band of ſoldiers under arms overawed the common people, and controlled their looks, their tears, and their complaints; but compaſſion ſunk the deeper, and revenge took poſſeſſion of every brave and warlike mind. An incredible multitude gathered round the tombs of the two victims, printing kiſſes on the place, and waſhing it with their tears. Numbers vowed to let their hair grow into length, and, according to the ancient cuſtom, never to ſhorten it till they revenged that noble blood. *Hi duo viri, omnium confeſſione eminentiſſimi, nec minus factis quam ſtirpe illuſtres, Bruxellæ, poſt ſacra Romano ritu peracta, loco publico cervices carnifici præbuêre. Capita aliquamdiu ſuffixa palis, Belgarum in oculis atrox ſpectaculum; et quamquam circumfuſa arma vocibus ac prope vultibus imminebant, altius animis omnium miſeratio, fortiorum etiam ultio inſedit; cum incredibilis turbæ oſculis et fletu ſepulchra celebrarentur, alii vero et comas promitterent, priſcum in morem obligato oris habitu, quem non mutarent, niſi vindicato tam nobili ſanguine.* Grotius, *Annal.* b. ii. p. 40.

(*b*) This

(*b*) This cuſtom of voluntarily putting on a badge of ſlavery was obſerved by the deſcendants of the Germans in various parts of Europe, and in the times of chivalry ſeems to have grown into general uſe. It was then a mark of amorous gallantry. In the year 1414, John, duke of Bourbon, to diſtinguiſh himſelf in the ſervice of his miſtreſs, aſſociated himſelf with ſixteen knights and 'ſquires, who all joined him in a vow, by which they obliged themſelves to wear a ring round their left legs on every Sunday for two years; that of the knights to be gold, and that of the gentlemen ſilver. And this they were to perform till it ſhould be their lot to meet with an equal number of knights and 'ſquires to engage with them in the tournament. Vertot, *Memoires de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres*, vol. ii. p. 595.

Section XXXII.

(*a*) The Uſipii are ſuppoſed to have occupied the duchy of Cleves, and part of the biſhoprick of Munſter. Martial makes mention of this people:

> Sic leve flavorum valeat genus Uſipiorum.
> Lib. vi. epig. 60.

Cæſar calls them *Uſipetes*; and they, he ſays, with the Tenctheri, were driven by the Suevians from their territories; and, having wandered over many regions of Germany during a ſpace of three years, they ſettled at laſt on the banks of the Rhine, near the Menapians, who had lands on both ſides of the river. Cæſar, b. iv. ſ. 1. Afterwards, in the reign of Auguſtus, when the Sicambri were tranſplanted to the weſt ſide of the

the Rhine by Tiberius, who commanded the legions in thoſe parts, the Uſipians and Tenc̃terians ſucceeded to the lands left vacant in Germany; ſuppoſed now to be the duchy of Berg, and Mark, Lipp, Waldeck, and the biſhoprick of Paderbourn. In the *Hiſtory of Tacitus*, b. iv. f. 64, we ſee them acting in conjunction with Civilis againſt the Romans.

Section XXXIII.

(*a*) The Bruc̃terians dwelt between the Rhine, the Luppia (the Lippe), and Amiſia (the Ems). The country is now ſuppoſed to be Weſtphalia, and Over-Iſſel. They entered into an alliance with Civilis, the Batavian chief; and, having in the courſe of that war incurred the hatred of their countrymen, they were at length exterminated. It is obſervable, however, that Tacitus does not ſtate the ruin of this people as a poſitive fact. He mentions it as a report. That they were ſtill a people appears in a letter of Pliny, who wrote in the time of Trajan. The emperor, he tells us, decreed a triumphal ſtatue to Veſtritius Spurinna, who, without the neceſſity of coming to an engagement, humbled the Bruc̃terians by the terror of his name. The barbarians had experienced his courage and his conduct, and therefore not only received their king from him, but quietly ſubmitted to their former government. Pliny, lib. ii. epiſt. 7. It is probable, therefore, that Tacitus was miſinformed. Claudian, the celebrated poet, who flouriſhed in the fourth century of the Chriſtian æra, in the time of the emperor Theodoſius, mentions the Bruc̃terians as a people who, with the reſt of the German nations, ſubmitted to the Roman general.

——— venit

——————— venit accola Sylvæ
Bructerus Hercyniæ.
De IV. Consul. Honorii, v. 450.

It is ſtill to be obſerved, that neither this paſſage in Claudian, nor that in Pliny's letter, has fixed the place where the Bructerians reſided. If, according to the poet, they were contiguous to the Hercynian Foreſt, it confirms what Tacitus ſays, that they were driven from their territory. Wherever they dwelt, there is reaſon to conclude that they were ſtill a people. The report to the contrary ſeems to have had no foundation. Eccard (*De Rebus Franciæ Orientalis*, vol. i. p. 304.) ſays, they ſettled between Cologne and Heſſe, and were afterwards engaged in the league of the Franks.

(*b*) The Chamavians occupied a territory near the banks of the Amiſia (the Ems), ſuppoſed to be Lingen and Oſnabrug. The Angrivarians bordered on the Viſurgis (the Weſer), where at preſent are Minden and Schawenburg. They were alſo called Angrarii; a word which, Gronovius obſerves, according to the German etymology, ſignifies AGGRESSORS. Brotier ſays, they were afterwards a part of the Saxon nation; and, for proof of this, he refers to the code of Saxon laws. The ſame writer adds, that the battle which, in conjunction with the Angrivarians, they fought againſt the Bructerians, was decided on a plain near the canal of Druſus (ſee ſ. xxix. note *a*), and the account of that prodigious ſlaughter arrived at Rome in the firſt year of the emperor Trajan. Tacitus on this occaſion ſeems to exult in the deſtruction of the human ſpecies. *Above ſixty thouſand of the Germans*, he ſays, *lay dead on the field of battle; a glorious ſpectacle for the legions, who beheld that ſcene of blood.* The ambition

ambition of the Romans aiming always at universal dominion, it was part of their policy to give the name of barbarians to the nations that did not tamely submit to their victorious arms. The combats of their gladiators enured them to blood and carnage from their very infancy; and, by consequence, they considered the race of man as so many victims, who were to bleed for the ambition of a people who aspired to be the governors of the world. To conquer the proud (*debellare superbos*) was a state maxim, and moral virtue gave way to fierce ambition. There is a passage in Livy not unlike what is said by Tacitus, but not delivered with the same harshness of expression. A contention, he says, arose between the Volsci and the Æqui; each claiming a right to name a commander in chief for their confederate army. A violent sedition followed, and the consequence was a bloody engagement, in which the good fortune of the Roman people destroyed two armies of the enemy. *Hinc et certamine, Volsci Æquine imperatorem conjuncto exercitui darent, seditio, deinde atrox prælium ortum. Ibi fortuna populi Romani duos hostium exercitus, haud minus pernicioso quam pertinaci certamine, confecit.* Livy, lib. ii. s. 40.

Section XXXIV.

(*a*) It is difficult to fix the residence of these two nations. The commentators seem disposed to assign them the country near the head of the river Lippe; and thence it is thought that they removed to the lands evacuated by the Angrivarians and Chamavians, when they expelled the Bructerian nation. They seem to have been the same with those whom Velleius Paterculus calls the

the Attuarii: ſee Paterc. lib. ii. ſ. 105. They were afterwards part of the Francic league. The nations of inferior note, ſaid by Tacitus to have dwelt in their neighbourhood, are ſuppoſed by Brotier to have been the Anſibarii and Tubantes. The former he thinks ſhould rather be called Amſibarii, from their vicinity to the river Amiſia.

(*b*) The Flevus, in the time of the Romans, was a great lake. Germanicus *entered it through the artificial branch of the Rhine made by Druſus. Annals,* b. ii. ſ. 8. It has been ſince enlarged by irruptions of the ſea, and is now the great gulf called Zuyder-Zee. The Leſſer Friſians were ſettled on the ſouth-weſt ſide of the bay, occupying the whole or part of Holland and Utrecht. The Greater Friſians were on the north-eaſt of the lake or gulf, in the territory now called Groningen, extending themſelves along the ſea-coaſt as far as the river Amiſia (now the Ems). The name of the Friſians ſeems to be preſerved in that of Friesland, the moſt northern of the United Provinces.

(*c*) One of the inundations which changed the lake into a gulf of the ſea, happened ſo late as the year 1530, and ſwallowed up ſeventy-two villages. Another happened in the year 1569, and overwhelmed the coaſt of Holland, and laid all Frieſland under water. In that flood no leſs than 20,000 perſons loſt their lives. Where the pillars of Hercules ſtood cannot now be known with certainty. The extreme point of land, where nothing but the open ſea lay beyond it, was in ancient times ſaid to be the ſpot on which the pillars of Hercules were erected. Some of the commentators contend, that the ſpot intended by Tacitus was on the coaſt of the Friſians; others will have it to be the point of the Cimbrian Chersonesus, now Jutland.

(*d*) Druſus

(*d*) Druſus was the younger brother of Tiberius, and father of Germanicus. See the *Genealogical Table of the Cæſars*, vol. ii. No. 79. Hiſtory aſcribes to him the moſt amiable character, and every Roman virtue. Though educated at the court of Auguſtus, he was in ſentiment a republican. He commanded in Germany, and carried his victorious arms as far as the Elbe. He impoſed a tribute on the Friſians (ſee *Annals*, b. iv. f. 72), and, in order to explore the German Ocean, ſailed as far as the point of Jutland: but, the art of navigation being then little underſtood, he did not venture to proceed farther in that violent and tempeſtuous ſea.

(*e*) Tacitus, perhaps, alluded to the precept of the philoſopher, who ſaid, *Worſhip God, believe in him, but do not preſume to inveſtigate his nature:* DEUM COLE, ATQUE CREDE, SED NOLI QUÆRERE. The ancients, ſays La Bletterie, thought it preſumptuous to enquire too far into the myſteries of nature; and the moderns do not ſpare the myſteries of religion.

Section XXXV.

(*a*) The territory of the Chaucians extended from the Ems (Amiſia) to the Elbe (Albis), and the German Ocean waſhed the northern extremity. The nation was diſtinguiſhed into the Greater and the Leſſer, divided from each other by the Viſurgis (the Weſer). The former dwelt (as appears in *Annals*, b. ii. f. 18 and 19) between the Ems and the Weſer; the latter on the north-eaſt ſide of the Weſer, between that river and the Elbe. Pliny, in his *Natural Hiſtory*, has repreſented the maritime inhabitants in lively colours. He ſays, he himſelf had ſeen the Greater and

and the Leſſer Chaucians, living in a vaſt level country, which is overflowed twice in the day and night by the reflux of the tide, and leaves a perpetual doubt whether it is ſea or land. Pliny adds, that the wretched inhabitants live on the ridge of hills, or in mud cottages raiſed above the high-water mark, having no cattle, no milk, and no fruits of the earth. Fiſh is their only ſuſtenance, and they catch it with lines made of flags and ſea-weed. Their fuel is the common mud, taken up with their hands, and dried rather by the wind than the ſun. With fire made of this kind of peat, they warm their food and their bodies almoſt frozen. The rain-water, collected in ditches round their huts, is their only drink. *Sunt vero in Septemtrione viſæ nobis gentes Chaucorum, qui Majores Minoreſque appellantur. Vaſto ibi meatu, bis dierum noctiumque ſingularum intervallis, effuſus in immenſum agitur oceanus, æternam operiens rerum naturæ controverſiam, dubiumque terra ſit, an pars maris. Illic miſera gens tumulos obtinet altos, aut tribunalia ſtructa manibus ad experimenta altiſſimi æſtus caſis ita impoſitis. Non pecudem his habere, non lacte ali, ne cum feris quidem dimicare contigit, omni procul abacto frutice. Ulvâ et paluſtri junco funes nectunt ad prætexenda piſcibus retia; captumque manibus lutum ventis magis quam ſole ſiccantes: hac terrâ cibos et rigentia Septemtrione viſcera ſua urunt. Potus non niſi ex imbre ſervato ſcrobibus in veſtibulo domus.* Pliny, lib. xvi. ſ. 1. Pliny concludes his account of the Chaucians with an obſervation natural in the mouth of a man, who, with the reſt of his country, thought that Rome, as miſtreſs of the world, had a right to give laws to the nations round her, and that ſubjection was the duty of barbarians. If, he ſays, that wretched people were conquered by the Romans, they

they would call it ſlavery, and complain of the yoke of bondage. The fact is, Fortune ſpares ſome nations, but her mercy is the ſevereſt puniſhment. She leaves them to their miſery. *Et hæ gentes, ſi vincantur hodie a populo Romano, ſervire ſe dicunt. Ita eſt profectò: multis Fortuna parcit in pœnam.* Pliny, it ſhould ſeem, thought luxury a ſufficient compenſation for the loſs of liberty: he did not reflect, that to live under the arbitrary will of man is the worſt lot of human life, and that independence can make *barren rocks and bleak mountains ſmile.* Lucan differed widely from Pliny: Liberty, he ſays, fled from the guilt of civil war beyond the Tigris and the Rhine, never to return, though often ſought by the Romans at the riſk of life. In his emphatic manner he calls liberty *a German and a Scythian bleſſing.*

——— Fugiens civile nefas, redituraque nunquam
Libertas ultra Tigrim Rhenumque receſſit,
Ac, toties nobis jugulo quæſita, negatur,
GERMANUM SCYTHICUMQUE BONUM!
LUCAN, lib. vii. v. 432.

(*b*) The Chaucians, with their love of juſtice and moderation, ſtill retained their warlike ſpirit. To prevent their incurſions, the Romans found it convenient to ſtation garriſons at proper poſts. Lucan alludes to thoſe garriſons; but he gives the people a new name, that of CAYCI,

Et vos crinigeros bellis arcere Caycos
Oppoſiti. Lib. i. v. 463.

You too tow'rds Rome advance, ye warlike band,
That wont the ſhaggy Cauci to withſtand.
ROWE's LUCAN, b. i. f. 811.

Section

Section XXXVI.

(*a*) The territory of the Cheruſcans began near the Weſer (Viſurgis), and extended to the Elbe, through the countries now called Lunebourg, Brunſwick, and part of Brandenbourg. Arminius, their chief, made head againſt the Romans with diſtinguiſhed bravery, and performed a number of gallant exploits, as related by Tacitus in the firſt and ſecond book of the *Annals*. He was at laſt cut off by the treachery of his countrymen, and his character is given in lively colours in the laſt ſection of the ſecond book. Varus and his legions were deſtroyed by the zeal and violent ſpirit of Arminius, as appears in the ſpeech of Segeſtes, *Annals*, b. i. ſ. 58. The long peace, in which the vigour of this people ſunk into ſloth and indolence, was, perhaps, occaſioned by the death of Arminius; or it might be from the time when Germanicus was recalled by Tiberius, and ſent to command the legions in the eaſt. In the time of Auguſtus, they occupied a large tract of country on the weſt ſide of the Weſer, as appears in the accounts given by Velleius Paterculus of Druſus, and his wars in Germany.

(*b*) This is the only place in which Tacitus makes mention of the Foſi. Cluverius and others ſuppoſe that they were the ſame as the ancient Saxons. But this opinion does not ſeem to be well ſupported. According to Ptolemy, the Saxons inhabited the country of Holſtein at the entrance of the Cimbrian Cherſoneſus, or Jutland. The name of the Saxons could not be mentioned by Tacitus; it was not known till long after his time, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, when, in conjunction with the Angles, they iſſued from their hive, and afterwards became maſters of Britain.

tain. The Fosi were a different people. They bordered on the Cheruſcans near the Elbe; and, ſince we find them involved in one common calamity, they were, perhaps, ſubordinate to that nation.

Section XXXVII.

(*a*) The Cimbri inhabited the peninſula, which, after their name, was called the Cimbric Cherſoneſus, and is now Jutland, including Sleſwic and Holſtein. In the conſulſhip of Cæcilius Metellus and Papirius Carbo, A. U. C. 640, about one hundred and eleven years before the Chriſtian æra, this people, in conjunction with the Teutones, made an irruption into Gaul, and having ſpread terror and devaſtation through the country, reſolved to puſh their conqueſt into Italy. They ſent a deputation to the ſenate, demanding an allotment of lands, and in return promiſing fidelity. It appears in the Epitome of Livy, lxv. that, the ſenate having refuſed to enter into any compromiſe with ſuch bold invaders, the new conſul, Marcus Silanus, marched againſt them. The Cimbri ſtormed his entrenchments, pillaged the camp, and put almoſt the whole army to the ſword. This victory was followed by the defeat of three more Roman generals, who loſt their camp, and had their armies cut to pieces. Florus does not heſitate to ſay, that Rome was on the brink of deſtruction, had there not exiſted in that age a Marius, to redeem the Roman name. That officer had triumphed over Jugurtha, and his military ſkill was equal to his valour. He gave battle to the Teutones at the foot of the Alps, near the place then called Aquæ Sextiæ (now Aix in Provence), and gained a complete victory. Livy ſays (Epitome, lxviii.), that no

leſs than two hundred thouſand of the enemy were ſlain in the action. The whole nation periſhed. Florus adds, that their king TEUTOBOCHUS was taken priſoner; and, in the triumph of Marius, his immenſe ſtature, towering above the heaps of warlike trophies, exhibited to the Roman people an aſtoniſhing ſpectacle. The Cimbri, in the mean time, paſſed over the Alps, and made a deſcent into Italy. They penetrated as far as the banks of the Adige, and, having croſſed that river, in ſpite of Catulus Luctatius, the Roman general, ſpread a general panic through the country. They halted near the Po, and ſent to Marius a ſecond time to demand a place for their habitation. Marius anſwered, that "their brethren, the Teutones, already poſ-"ſeſſed more than they deſired, and that they "would not eaſily quit what had been aſſigned "to them." Enraged by this taunting raillery, the Cimbri prepared for a deciſive action. Florus ſays, that their vigour was relaxed by the ſoft clime of Italy. The battle was fought, according to Florus, at a place called Raudium, on the eaſt ſide of the river Leſſites, which runs from the Alpes Graiæ, and falls into the Po. Victory declared for the Romans. If we may believe Livy, Florus, and Plutarch in the life of Marius, above one hundred and forty thouſand of the Cimbri periſhed in the engagement. Mention has already been made (ſ. viii. note *a*) of the behaviour of the Cimbrian women, when they ſaw the victory in the hands of the Romans. They daſhed out the brains of their children, and completed the tragedy by deſtroying themſelves. In this manner ended the expedition of the Cimbri. The reader, who deſires to ſee the hiſtory of that tranſaction more in detail, will find it related with accuracy and elegance in Monſ. Mallet's

Northern

Northern Antiquities, vol. i. p. 22. The number of the Cimbri, and their confederates, the Teutones, ſaid to have been deſtroyed by Marius in his two engagements, would ſeem incredible, were it not in ſome degree explained by Florus, who ſays, that the whole nation was driven by inundations of the ſea to ſeek new habitations in every quarter of the globe. *Cum terras eorum inundaſſet oceanus, novas ſedes toto orbe quærebant* Florus, lib. iii. cap. 3. Plutarch, in the life of Marius, ſays, that the number of fighting men was 300,000, beſides as great a number of women and children. Their native country, after this grand emigration, continued ſo depopulated, that, at the end of two centuries, when Tacitus wrote this tract, it had not been able to recover itſelf. It was long after that the Angles and Saxons iſſued from their northern hive, as Sir William Temple calls it, to eſtabliſh their Anglo-Saxon government in this iſland.

(*b*) Oriental deſpotiſm was not able to ſhake the ſolid ſtrength of the Roman republic. Parthia was divided by a long tract of country, and by the Mediterranean Sea. The brilliant ſplendour of the Arſacidæ might glitter in the eyes of courtiers, whoſe ambition aimed at honours and marks of diſtinction, and the people were dazzled by the glory of their monarch. But glory, though it is the principle that unites the ſubjects in ſupport of deſpotiſm, is weak and powerleſs, when oppoſed to the virtue of a republic, or the love of freedom that pervades a fierce and ſavage nation. The latter is a paſſion implanted by the hand of nature; the motives of ſlaves are all artificial. The Germans took up arms in defence of liberty; the Parthians fought for the ſplendour of the imperial diadem, and, by conſequence, rivetted their own chains. It is true that Craſſus

and his whole army were cut to pieces; but the Parthians delivered hoſtages to the Romans, and their princes received their ſceptre from the hands of the emperor. The Germans made a fiercer reſiſtance. The Cimbrians and the Teutones filled all Italy with terror. From that time, during a ſpace of more than two centuries to the reign of Trajan, Rome and Germany were often at war, with alternate victory, and alternate ſlaughter. Arminius rouſed his countrymen againſt the Romans, and he is called by Tacitus the DELIVERER OF HIS COUNTRY. Civilis, the Batavian chieftain, declared to his people, that Syria, Aſia, and the oriental nations, inured to the yoke of deſpotiſm, might continue to crouch in bondage; but as to himſelf and the Gauls, they were born in freedom. By the death of Varus ſlavery was driven out of Germany. Thoſe were the ſentiments that inflamed the martial ſpirit of that adventurer. With what heroic ardour he proſecuted the war, Tacitus has related in the fourth book of his hiſtory. The hiſtorian, moſt probably, foreſaw that German liberty would in the end accompliſh the ruin of the empire; and that foreknowledge, perhaps, extorted from him the fervent prayer which he offers up (ſ. xxxiii.) for the continuance of civil diſcord among the enemies of Rome. The triumph of the Germans happened long after the time of Tacitus. In the year of Rome 1229, and of the Chriſtian æra 476, Odoacer overturned the weſtern empire, and left the laſt of the emperors to languiſh in a caſtle near Naples. Before the end of the eighth century Charlemagne, king of the Franks, cauſed one of his ſons to be crowned king of Italy by Pope Adrian, and, by the rapid progreſs of his arms, proved what Tacitus has ſaid, that German liberty is more vigorous than

eaſtern

eaſtern deſpotiſm. See Charlemagne's Preface to the Salic Law, a monument of antiquity which, Brotier ſays, is ſeldom inſpected even by the curious. For that reaſon he has given it at length in his notes on this ſection of Tacitus.

(*c*) The ſlaughter of Craſſus and his army is well known: but in revenge Pacorus, ſon of Orodes, the Parthian king, was put to death, and the kingdom was reduced to a lower condition than even that of Ventidius, who gained a complete victory. Tacitus ſays, *infra Ventidium dejectus oriens*, alluding to the meanneſs of that officer's firſt employment: he let out mules for hire, and was afterwards raiſed to the conſulſhip by Antony the triumvir. Upon that occaſion a libel was fixed up in the public places at Rome, ſtating, as a kind of prodigy, that the man who dreſſed mules was made a conſul.

> Portentum inuſitatum conflatum eſt recens;
> Nam mulos qui fricabat, conſul factus eſt.

The victory obtained by this man (ſee Florus, lib. iv. ſ. 9.) places the weakneſs of the Parthians in a clear point of view. But the loſs of ſo many Roman conſuls, with their armies, ſhews the warlike genius of the Germans. Carbo was conſul A. U. C. 640, and was routed by the Cimbrians with his whole army. Livy, Epitome lxiii. Lucius Caſſius was conſul A. U. 647. He himſelf was ſlain in battle, and his whole army paſſed under the yoke. Cæſar, b. i. ſ. 12. See Livy, Epitome lxv.

(*d*) Marcus Scaurus Aurelius gave battle to the Cimbrians, and his army was put to flight. He himſelf was taken priſoner. Being ſummoned to a conſultation held by the enemy, he adviſed them not to think of paſſing the Alps, becauſe the Romans

were invincible. For that offence Boiorix, a young man of great ferocity, killed him on the ſpot. Livy, Epit. lxvii. Servilius Cæpio, proconſul, and Cneius Manlius, conſul, were both defeated, and their camps were pillaged by the Cimbrians. Livy, Epit. lxvii. Florus, lib. iii. ſ. 3. Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. ſ. 12. This laſt defeat happened A. U. 649, and, according to Plutarch, in the life of Lucullus, the anniverſary was reckoned among the unlucky days. In order to do juſtice to the martial ardour of the Germans, Tacitus takes care to obſerve that theſe diſaſters happened in the beſt days of Rome, that is, in the time of the republic. *Quinque ſimul conſulares exercitus* POPULO ROMANO *abſtulerunt.* He adds, that Auguſtus the emperor loſt Varus and his three legions. The calamity made ſuch an impreſſion on the mind of Auguſtus, that, as Suetonius relates, he let his hair and beard grow for ſeveral months, at times ſtriking his head againſt the wall, and exclaiming, "QUINTILIUS "VARUS, GIVE ME BACK MY LEGIONS." Sueton. *in Auguſto*, ſ. 23. See the fine deſcription of Germanicus and his army traverſing the field where the bones of their ſlaughtered countrymen lay unburied. *Annals*, b. i. ſ. 61.

(*e*) Marius, as has been mentioned, triumphed over the Teutones and the Cimbri. See ſ. xxxvii. note (*a*).

(*f*) During the troubles that followed the death of Nero, and the wars between Otho, Vitellius, and Veſpaſian, Claudius Civilis, the Batavian chief, took the field at the head of a confederate army, under a plauſible pretence of promoting the intereſt of Veſpaſian, but, in fact, to deliver his country and the Gauls from the Roman yoke. He called himſelf the friend of Veſpaſian, while he ſtormed the Roman camps, and obliged the

legions

legions to ſurrender to his victorious arms. He drew many of the German nations into a conſpiracy; and, acting on every occaſion with conſummate policy, he appears to have learned in the ſchool of the Romans the art of contending with his maſters. What he attempted was reſerved for a later period, and for the abilities of William Naſſau, who freed the United Provinces from the dominion of Spain. See the enterpriſing ſpirit and the gallant exploits of Civilis in the Hiſtory of Tacitus, book iv. He was, at length, abandoned by the Germans, and, by conſequence, reduced to the neceſſity of patching up a peace with Cerealis, the Roman general. An imperfect account of this tranſaction may be ſeen in what remains of the fifth book of the Hiſtory, which has ſuffered by the injury of time.

Section XXXVIII.

(*a*) The territory occupied by the Suevians was of vaſt extent, ſtretching ſouthward from the Baltic to the Danube, and eaſtward from the Elbe to the Viſtula, which was the boundary that ſeparated Germany from Sarmatia Several nations inhabited that vaſt tract of country. They formed a confederation with the Suevians, and, being ſo connected, were called by one general appellation. Some diſtinct ſtates were ſubject to the Suevians, and thence derived the name of Suevians. The new league that was afterwards eſtabliſhed took the title of ALAMANNI (ſee this Tract, ſ. xxix. note (*c*). The two names have been promiſcuouſly uſed by hiſtorians to ſignify the Suevi or the Alamanni; and hence the country, which, after the deſtruction of the wall erected by the emperor Probus, became

became the theatre of war, was alternately called Alamannia and Suabia.

(*b*) It ſhould ſeem, from what is here ſaid, that the reſt of the Germans let their hair flow looſely about their head and ſhoulders. Seneca mentions the ruddy hair of the Germans gathered into a knot; but he does not call it a general cuſtom: he only ſays it was not deemed unmanly. *Nec rufus crinis et coactus in nodum apud Germanos virum dedecet.* Seneca, *De Irâ*, lib. iii. cap. 26. Martial, in his firſt book (epigram iii.) on the public ſpectacles exhibited at Rome, talks of the Sicambri with their hair collected into a knot:

Crinibus in nodum tortis venêre Sicambri.

In a paſſage already cited from Silius Italicus (ſ. xxxi. note *a*) that poet mentions the ruddy hair tied up into a knot. *Et rutilum ſub vertice nodum.*

Section XXXIX.

(*a*) The Semnones occupied both banks of the Viadrus (now the Oder), with part of Pomerania, Brandenbourg, and alſo of Sileſia. The late king of Pruſſia has thrown great light on the hiſtory of the Semnones. See his *Memoirs of the Houſe of Brandenbourg.*

(*b*) The belief of a Supreme God, the governor of the univerſe, has been from the earlieſt time common to all nations, however rude and barbarous. It is well known to have been the perſuaſion of the Scythians, from whom the Germans derived their origin; and it is alſo known that the Scythians offered human ſacrifices. Accordingly we find the Semnones addicted

dicted to the ſame barbarous rites. The old treatiſe of Icelandic mythology, entitled the EDDA, ſhews that the Scandinavians believed in a Supreme Deity, "the author of every thing "that exiſts; the eternal, the ancient, the liv-"ing and awful Being; the ſearcher into con-"cealed things, the Being that never changeth." See Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 78. That the Americans believed in a God and a future ſtate, appears in Charlevoix and other travellers. This concurring opinion of all mankind is obſerved by Cicero, who ſays, there never was a people ſo rude, ſo ſavage, and ſo ſunk in ignorance, as not to be impreſſed with the idea of a ſupreme all-ruling mind. The conceptions of men are, indeed, groſs and extravagant; but ſtill all acknowledge a ſuperior Being, and a divinity that ſtirs within them. *Nulla gens tam fera, nemo omnium tam immanis, cujus mentem non imbuerit Deorum opinio. Multi de diis prava ſentiunt: omnes tamen eſſe vim et naturam divinam arbitrantur. Tuſcul. Quæſtion.* lib. i. ſ. 13.

Section XL.

(*a*) The Langobards are ſuppoſed, in the time of Auguſtus, to have inhabited the country now called Lunenbourg and Magdebourg, on the weſt ſide of the Elbe. Velleius Paterculus ſays, they were ſubdued by Tiberius, when he commanded in Germany, and that they were a people that exceeded even German ferocity. *Fracti Langobardi; gens etiam Germanâ ferocitate ferocior.* Vell. Pat. lib. ii. cap. 106. Suetonius (*Life of Auguſtus*, ſ. 21.) ſays, they were driven beyond the Elbe. It is evident, however, that they

they afterwards recovered their ſtrength, ſince we find the dominion of the Langobards flouriſhing in Italy, till in the year 784 they were totally ſubdued by Charlemagne. Their code of laws is preſerved by Lindenbrogius. Tacitus has made no mention of the Burgundians, perhaps becauſe they were in his time of little or no conſideration; though at the end of ſeveral centuries they were able to make an irruption into Gaul, where they poſſeſſed the country which, after them, is to this day called the province of Burgundy. The Burgundian laws are ſtill extant.

(*b*) With regard to the ſeven nations here enumerated, there are no lights of hiſtory to guide us at this diſtant period. Brotier ſuppoſes that the Reudignians dwelt in what is now called Mecklenbourg and Lawenbourg. The Aviones, he thinks, were ſituated in a portion of the duchy of Mecklenbourg, near a river which, after their name, is called AVA by the inhabitants. The Varinians are generally thought to have occupied the eaſtern part of Mecklenbourg, where the city of Waren ſtands at preſent. The Eudoſians, the Nuithones and Suardonians are almoſt loſt in the miſts of antiquity. The Angles are better known. They occupied part of Holſtein and Sleſwick. In the fifth century they joined the Saxons in their expedition into Britain, and, by giving the name of England to the ſouthern part of the iſland, immortalized the glory of their nation.

(*c*) As Tacitus is here ſpeaking of the adoration paid to a goddeſs by the ſeveral nations whoſe names have been enumerated, it is not probable that, in latinizing a barbarous word, he ſhould give it a maſculine termination. The text ſays, HERTHUM, *id eſt, Terram Matrem colunt.*

lunt. So, it ſeems, the word ſtands in all the manuſcripts; and yet, it may be preſumed, that the author wrote HERTHAM. The name in all the northern languages ſignifies earth; in the ancient Gothic, *airtha*; in the Anglo-Saxon *eorthe*, *ertha*, *hertha*; in Engliſh *earth*. See *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 92. The worſhip of Mother Earth has been common in all unenlightened nations. We read in a Latin hiſtorian, that a tremor of the earth being felt when two armies were in the heat of battle, Sempronius, the Roman general, bound himſelf by a vow to build a temple to the goddeſs. *Tremente inter prælium campo, Tellurem deam promiſſâ æde placavit*. Florus, lib. i. cap. 19. The deity that preſided over the air and the elements, was ſuppoſed to be the FATHER of all, and the earth the MOTHER. This is clearly expreſſed by Lucretius:

> Poſtremo pereunt imbres, ubi eos PATER ÆTHER
> In gremium MATRIS TERRAI præcipitavit.
> Lib. iv. 251.

The ſame author, in another place, deſcribes thoſe two parents producing corn and fruit, and the whole human race.

> Omnibus ille idem PATER eſt, unde alma liquentes
> Humorum guttas cum MATER TERRA recepit,
> Fœta parit nitidas fruges, arbuſtáque læta,
> Et genus humanum. Lib. ii. 991.

This idea of a creative power was not confined to Greece and Rome. "It was the opinion of all the Celtic nations, and of the ancient Syrians, that the Supreme Being, or celeſtial God, had united with the earth to produce the inferior deities, man, and all other creatures. Upon this was founded that veneration they

they had for the earth, which they conſidered as a goddeſs. They called her MOTHER EARTH, and the HERTHA of the Germans was the ſame as *Frica*, or *Frea*, the wife of ODIN, mother of the gods: ſhe was alſo known under the name of ASTAGOOD, or the goddeſs of Love; a name not very remote from the ASTARTE of the Phœnicians; and under that of GOYA, which the ancient Greeks gave to the earth. The FATHER of the gods and MOTHER EARTH were called by ſome of the Scythian nations JUPITER and APIA; by the Thracians, COTIS and BENDIS; by the inhabitants of Greece and Italy, SATURN and OPS. Antiquity is full of traces of this worſhip, which was formerly univerſal. The Scythians adored the earth as a goddeſs, wife of the ſupreme God; the Turks celebrated her in their hymns, and the Perſians offered ſacrifices to her." *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 91 and 95. A feſtival in honour of MOTHER EARTH was inſtituted by the Scandinavians, and fixed at the firſt quarter of the ſecond moon of the year. Mallet ſays, they ſacrificed to the goddeſs the largeſt hog they could get. That the ſame worſhip was paid by the rude inhabitants of Italy, we have the authority of Horace in the Epiſtle to Auguſtus.

TELLUREM PORCO, Sylvanum lacte piabant.

(*d*) Cluverius pretends, that the iſland intended by Tacitus is the iſle of RUGEN, which is in the Baltic ſea, on the coaſt of Pomerania. He mentions a foreſt on the iſland, in the midſt of which was a vaſt lake, always an object of ſuperſtition. La Bletterie obſerves, that Helmoldus, a writer of the twelfth century, calls the iſle of RUGEN the centre of paganiſm, till the miſſionaries

miſſionaries converted the natives, and built a church. But the Chriſtian religion did not long prevail. The iſlanders, relapſing into their former errors, baniſhed the prieſts, and changed the church into a temple for their pagan worſhip. And yet, as Tacitus places this iſland in the ocean, and as he afterwards mentions the Rugians (ſee ſ. xliii.), without aſcribing to them the ſame religious rites, it is more likely to have been the iſle of HEILIGELAND, which is not far from the mouth of the Elbe. The ANGLES (from whom our Engliſh anceſtors derived their name) were ſeated on this coaſt; and Arnkiel hath ſhewn, in his Cimbric Antiquities, that the Ancient Germans held this iſland in great veneration. The word HEILIGELAND ſignifies "Holy Land." See Pelloutier, *Hiſtoire des Celtes*, tom. ii. chap. 18. Other learned men pretend that the iſle in queſtion was Zealand; but it is, after all, not very certain or important. *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 93.

Section XLI.

(*a*) We are now entering on what may be conſidered as the third part of this Treatiſe. In the firſt the author has given a ſtriking picture of the general manners of the whole nation, conſidered as a people living under the influence of the ſame rough northern climate. From the beginning of ſection xxviii. he has traced the ſeveral ſtates from the head of the Rhine, in the country of the GRISONS, along the weſtern ſide of Germany to where it branches off, and forms the iſle of Batavia. From that place Tacitus has traced the ſeveral nations to the Elbe, and along the coaſt of the Baltic to the Viſtula, the eaſtern boundary of Germany. In this third diviſion

diviſion of the work he purſues the courſe of the Danube, as long as it divides Germany from the Vindelici, from Noricum, and Pannonia. He then follows the eaſtern ſide of the country, where a chain of mountains, or, as he expreſſes it, mutual fear draws the line of ſeparation from Dacia and Sarmatia. In this geographical chart, the firſt nation that occurs is that of the Hermundurians, who occupied a country of prodigious extent, at firſt between the Elbe, the river Sala, and Boiemum (now Bohemia,) which became the territory of the Marcomanni, when that people expelled the Boians, and fixed their habitation in the conquered country. In the time of Tacitus the Hermundurians poſſeſſed the ſouthern part of Germany, and being faithful to the Romans, were highly favoured. In the reign of Marcus Aurelius they entered into a league with their countrymen, and met with a total defeat. The colony in the province of Rhætia (the county of the Griſons), where they enjoyed a free intercourſe, was moſt probably AUGUSTA VINDELICORUM (now Auſbourg). Vindelica was a part of Rhætia. The liberty of paſſing and re-paſſing within the limits of the empire, without a guard to watch their motions, which was granted to the Hermundurians, was a great mark of confidence. The like indulgence was not extended to other nations, as may be ſeen in the complaint of the Germans to the Ubians, then inhabitants of the Agrippinian colony: The earth, they ſay, the light of heaven, rivers and cities are barred againſt us; and, to the diſgrace of men born to the uſe of arms, we are obliged to approach the walls of your city defenceleſs, naked, in the cuſtody of a guard, and even for this a price is exacted. *Ut, quod contumelioſius eſt viris ad arma natis, inermes,*

mes, ac propè nudi, ſub cuſtode et pretio coiremus. See *Hiſt.* b. iv. ſ. 64.

(*b*) Tacitus is ſuppoſed, in this place, to be guilty of a geographical miſtake. The ſource of the Elbe is in Bohemia, among the mountains that ſeparate that country from Sileſia. Bohemia, as will be ſeen in the following ſection, was, after the expulſion of the Boians, inhabited by the Marcomanni. It ſhould, however, be remembered that the Hermundurians ſerved in the army of Maroboduus, in his expedition againſt the Boians, and, perhaps, were rewarded with an allotment of lands in that part of Bohemia where the Elbe takes its riſe. If ſo, Tacitus has made no miſtake. There is a river, called the EGRA, which riſes in Suabia, and this, it is ſuppoſed by ſome of the commentators, Tacitus confounded with the ſource of the Elbe; a river more known by the victories of Druſus and Tiberius, than by any diſcoveries made by the Romans ſince the days of thoſe two commanders.

Section XLII.

(*a*) The Nariſcans occupied the country between Bohemia and the Danube, which is now part of Bavaria.

(*b*) The Marcomannians, before they took poſſeſſion of Boiemum, or Bohemia, are ſaid to have inhabited the country near the Danube, now called the duchy of Wirtemburg in the north part of the circle of Suabia. They derived their name from the circumſtance of their being ſettled on the borders of Germany, the word MARC ſignifying a frontier or boundary. The Quadians occupied Moravia and part of Auſtria; in the time of Tacitus, a brave and warlike

warlike people, but, in the reign of VALENTINIAN and VALENS, a nation of little conſequence. See Ammianus Marcellinus, b. xxix. ch. 15.

(*c*) Maroboduus was king of the Marcomannians. For an account of him, and his alliance with the Romans againſt Arminius, ſee *Annals*, b. ii. f. 46: and ſee Velleius Paterculus, who ſays, that this prince, a barbarian by his birth, not by his talents, was able to ſubdue the neighbouring ſtates, or by conventions to reduce them to ſubjection. *Maroboduus, natione magis quam ratione barbarus, finitimos omnes aut bello domuit, aut conditionibus ſui juris fecit.* Lib. ii. f. 108. He was attacked afterwards by Catualda at the head of a powerful army, and driven from his throne. He fled for refuge into Italy, and lived a ſtate priſoner at Ravenna during a ſpace of twenty years, forgetting all his former dignity, and growing grey in diſgrace and miſery. *Annals*, b. ii. f. 63. With regard to Tudrus, the other prince mentioned by Tacitus, nothing is known at preſent.

(*d*) We are told by Tacitus that it was the policy of Rome to make even kings the inſtruments of her ambition. With this view, the emperors diſpoſed of ſceptres whenever an occaſion offered itſelf; and accordingly Tiberius, to keep in ſubjection a large body of German emigrants, appointed Vannius to reign over them. *Annals*, b. ii. f. 63. When the German prince was afterwards attacked by the Hermundurians, the emperor Claudius declined to take any part in the war, thinking it ſufficient to promiſe the German king a ſafe retreat, if the inſurgents prevailed againſt him. *Annals*, b. xii. f. 29. We read in Dio, b. lxvii. that the Lygians, haraſſed in Myſia by the Suevians, ſent their ambaſſadors to ſolicit

cit the protection of Domitian, who was unwilling to involve the empire in a war, and therefore sent a slender force, but privately assisted with a supply of money.

Section XLIII.

(*a*) History has not left materials for an accurate account of the four nations here enumerated. The commentators, however, assign their territories in the following manner. The Marsignians dwelt on the north-east of Bohemia, near the Viadrus (now the Oder), which rises in Moravia, and runs through Silesia, Brandenburg, and Pomerania into the Baltic. The Gothinians inhabited part of Silesia and Hungary. The Osians bordered on the last people, and extended as far as the Danube. The Burians were settled near the Krapack Mountains, and the sources of the Vistula.

(*b*) Ptolemy mentions iron-mines in or near the country of the Quadians. The Gothinians laboured in those mines, and had therefore, says Tacitus, more reason to be ashamed of their submission. This is well explained by Ernest, the German editor: they had iron, and did not make use of it to assert their liberty. The answer of Solon to Crœsus, king of Lydia, is well known: The people, he said, who have most iron, will be masters of all your gold. The Gothinians did not understand that plain and obvious truth.

(*c*) These are the mountains between Moravia, Hungary, Silesia, and Bohemia.

(*d*) The nation of the Lygians inhabited part of Silesia, of Prussia, and Poland as far as the banks of

of the Viſtula. They are mentioned by Tacitus, *Annals*, b. xii. ſ. 29.

(*e*) The ſituation of theſe ſeveral tribes cannot be ſtated with any degree of certainty. Brotier, and other learned critics, place them in Sileſia, Brandenbourg, and Poland, between the Viadrus (the ODER) and the Viſtula. Some of the commentators will have it, that the word *Sileſia* was derived from the people called the ELYSIANS. The etymology ſeems to be ſtrained, and how it is ſupported does not merit further enquiry.

(*f*) It has been obſerved (ſ. ix. note *a*), that the Greeks and Romans amuſed themſelves with a diſcovery of their own deities in the various objects of ſuperſtitious veneration among the barbarous nations, which their arms had overawed or conquered. The Romans worſhipped Caſtor and Pollux, as two ſtars propitious to mariners: Horace calls them *Fratres Helenæ*, *Lucida ſydera*; but it is not probable that the Naharvalians ever heard of the Roman mythology. During a ſtorm they ſaw meteors and glittering lights on the ſails and maſts of ſhips. Conſidering thoſe exhalations as the forerunners of an approaching calm, they deified that phænomenon, and paid their adoration to it. Seneca has deſcribed it with exactneſs: in ſtorms, he ſays, Caſtor and Pollux ſhine like ſtars on the ſails of the veſſel, and the mariners then conceive that they are favoured by thoſe deities. *In magnâ tempeſtate apparent quaſi ſtellæ velo inſidentes: adjuvari ſe tum periclitantes exiſtimant Pollucis et Caſtoris numine.* Sen. *Natural. Quæſt.* lib. i. ſ. 1. The Naharvalians, who dwelt near the Baltic, were well acquainted with this *ignis fatuus*, and called it, in their own language, by the name of *Alff*, or *Alp*, which, according to Keyſler (ſee his *Celtic*

Celtic Antiquities), is ſtill the term among the northern nations for the genii of the mountains. Tacitus, it is moſt likely, changed the word to ALCIS; but that the Greek and Roman Caſtor and Pollux entered into the idea of rude barbarians, is a ſuppoſition too improbable. The Germans worſhipped, as Cæſar ſays, thoſe objects of ſight by which they were benefited; they ſaw the operations of nature, and thought them the immediate effect of a deity preſiding in that department. The Greeks and Romans did the ſame. When they found among barbarians a god of war, a god of thunder, or a goddeſs of love, they found their own divinities, and made their religion univerſal. The late Dr. Muſgrave, in his Diſſertation on the Grecian Mythology, was aware of this national vanity, and, accordingly, obſerves that the Greeks were ſagacious enough to find out their own gods in Perſia, notwithſtanding the known contrariety of the two religions. The Perſians, we are told, worſhipped JUPITER under the name of OROMASDES; HADES under the name of ARIMANIUS; and VENUS under the name of MIRTA. It was the ſame with reſpect to the Romans and the Gauls. The many peculiar ſuperſtitions of the druids were ſo totally foreign to all that we know of the Romans, as to preclude every idea of one nation having borrowed from the other. Yet Cæſar does not heſitate to ſay, that the Gauls worſhipped APOLLO, MARS, JUPITER, and MINERVA; meaning, as may be ſuppoſed, certain gods correſponding in their attributes to thoſe ſo denominated by his countrymen. The gods of Scandinavia were in later times conſubſtantiated, in like manner, with the gods of Latium; but no one will pretend that their WODEN, THOR, and FRICA were copies of JUPITER,

MERCURY, and VENUS. And yet when the Goths came to intermix with the Romans, they found reſemblance enough between their gods to tranſlate each of thoſe words by the other; and this cuſtom appears ſo univerſal, that we have no other way of rendering WEDNESDAY, THURSDAY, and FRIDAY into Latin, but by calling them DIES MERCURII, JOVIS, and VENERIS. See Muſgrave on the *Græcian Mythology*, p. 13—15. Hence we may conclude, that though Tacitus finds CASTOR and POLLUX among a race of ſavages bordering on the Baltic, it was, notwithſtanding, nothing more than ſome of the attributes of thoſe mythological deities, whom a groſs and ignorant people worſhipped under the name of ALFF, or ALP, changed by the Roman author into the word ALCIS. But it is obſervable, that Tacitus throws from himſelf what is ſaid in the text of CASTOR and POLLUX, ſince he adds expreſsly, that he follows the Roman interpretation: *interpretatione Romana Caſtorem Pollucemque memorant.* Whoever is deſirous to have a clear idea of the German and Scandinavian gods, will find a full account in the *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. ch. 6; as alſo in Schedius, *De Diis Germanis.* It is evident in Verſtegan's *Britiſh Antiquities*, that the German and other northern nations worſhipped the Sun and Moon, whence were derived Sunday and Monday; and alſo TUISTO, WODEN, THOR, FRICA or FREA, and SEATER, called Saturn by the Roman writers; and thence we have Tueſday, Wedneſday, Thurſday, Friday, and Saturday, formed in regular ſucceſſion, from the deities above enumerated. In that rude ſyſtem of theology, the national vanity of the Greeks and Romans found Jupiter, Mars, Mercury,

cury, and the reſt. See this Tract, ſ. ix. note (*a*).

(*g*) The cuſtom of painting the body has been in general uſe among all ſavage nations, for ornament as well as terror in the day of battle. Cæſar ſays, the Britons in general paint themſelves with woad, which gives a blue caſt to the ſkin, and makes them look dreadful in battle. Book v. ſ. 14. The elder Pliny (b. xxii. ſ. 1) mentions the ſame cuſtom among the Dacians and Sarmatians. It is almoſt ſuperfluous to ſay that the Britons, who retired to the hills of Caledonia, were called PICTS, from the cuſtom of painting their bodies and their ſhields. For an account of the ſame practice among the tribes of North America, ſee Creuxius, *Hiſtoria Canadenſis*, p. 70.

(*h*) The Gothones dwelt near the mouth of the Viſtula, in part of Pomerania and the north-weſt of Poland. If they were not the ſame as the Goths, who will be mentioned hereafter, they were, moſt probably, in alliance with that famous people.

(*i*) The Rugians were ſituated on the Baltic ſhore. The town of RUGENWALD and the iſle of RUGEN are ſubſiſting memorials of this people and their name. The Lemovians were in the neighbourhood of the Rugians on the coaſt of the Baltic, near the city of DANTZIC. Hiſtory has recorded the exploits of the HERULI, who afterwards inhabited the territory of the laſt-mentioned people, and were the firſt of the Germans who, under ODOACER, eſtabliſhed themſelves in Italy; but with regard to the Rugians there are no lights to guide us.

Section XLIV.

(*a*) The Suiones occupied Sweden, and the Daniſh iſles of Fumen, Langland, Zeeland, &c. From them and the Cimbrians iſſued forth the Norman race, who carried the terror of their arms through ſeveral parts of Europe, and at length took poſſeſſion of the fertile province in France, which derived from thoſe adventurers the preſent name of Normandy. The GOTHS, the VISIGOTHS, and OSTROGOTHS overturned the Roman empire, and took the city of Rome, which had vainly promiſed itſelf an eternal duration, and boaſted of the immovable ſtone of the capitol; *capitoli immobile ſaxum.* The laws of the Viſigoths are ſtill extant, but they have not the ſimplicity of the German laws. The SUIONES are ſaid by Tacitus to have dwelt in the ocean; *ipſo in oceano.* Scandinavia (the ancient name of SWEDEN and NORWAY) was ſuppoſed to be an iſland. Pliny ſays, that the Baltic Sea (which he calls CODANUS SINUS) is filled with a number of iſlands, of which Scandinavia is the largeſt; but no more than a ſmall portion of it was known to the Romans. Pliny, lib. iv. ſ. 13.

(*b*) The naval force of the Suiones was for a long time conſiderable. Their deſcendants in the eleventh century had the honour of framing the code of nautical laws, which were publiſhed at WISBY, the capital city of the iſle of Gothland. The North American tribes build their canoes in the ſame form. The extremities terminate in two ſharp points; ſo that, in order to go backward, the canoemen have only to change offices. He who remains behind, ſteers with his oar. All the canoes, the ſmalleſt not excepted, carry

carry ſail, and with a favourable wind make twenty leagues a day. Charlevoix, letter xii.

(*c*) The love of money is here aſſigned as the cauſe of that ſtate of ſlavery in which the Suiones were content to live. The obſervation is worthy of Tacitus, who, upon this occaſion, called to mind the good old republic, and knew that the great revolution that happened, was occaſioned by a total change of principle; that is, by ſubſtituting a paſſion for riches in the room of ancient virtue. As a proof of the vaſt wealth of the SUIONES, Adam of Bremen (*Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, ch. 233) deſcribes a temple built at Ubſola (now Upſal), not far from the cities of Sictona and Birca. The temple, he ſays, is richly adorned with gold, and the people worſhip the ſtatues of their principal gods. THOR is ſeated on a couch, with WODEN on one ſide, and FRICA on the other. Stockholm, the preſent capital of Sweden, roſe out of the ruins of the two ancient cities of Sictona and Birca. The crown among the Suiones is ſaid by the learned to have been hereditary, not elective; and this ſeems to be fairly inferred from an arbitrary government, that knew no limitations, no uncertain or precarious rule of ſubmiſſion.

Section XLV.

(*a*) The Frozen Ocean, which begins in latitude 81, can ſcarce be deemed navigable. That this ſea was meant by Tacitus is by no means certain. It is more probable that he had in contemplation the northern extremity of the Baltic Sea, with the gulfs of Finland and Bothnia, which are frozen every winter, and, conſequently, impracticable to mariners.

(*b*) It

(*b*) It is well known that in the northern climates, the ſun, in ſome latitudes, is above the horizon during the four-and-twenty hours; in others ſtill more to the north, an entire month, and at the Pole full ſix months. Aſtronomy was not well underſtood in the days of Tacitus: hence the idea of the ſun emerging out of the ſea, and the horſes of the god being viſible. Tacitus has given a poetical deſcription, like that in Juvenal (ſat. xiv. v. 280), which mentions the ſun hiſſing in the Herculean gulf.

Audiet Herculeo ſtridentem gurgite ſolem.

(*c*) The ancients thought that the ocean was the boundary of nature, and that no land lay beyond it. Thus Curtius, ſpeaking of the Indian Ocean, ſays, that Nature can proceed no further. *Ne Naturam quidem longius poſſe procedere.* Lib. ix. ſ. 28. He afterwards talks of Alexander's entering that ſea, which Nature deſigned as the utmoſt limit of the habitable world. *Licebit decurrere in illud mare, quod rebus humanis terminum voluit eſſe Natura.* Lib. ix. ſ. 8.

(*d*) The Æſtyans inhabited the kingdom of Pruſſia, Samogitia and Courland, and the palatinate of Livonia. La Bletterie is of opinion that they were called Æstyi from the word Est, becauſe they were ſituated on the eaſtern ſide of Germany, on the borders of the Suevian Ocean, or the Baltic Sea. Their language bore an affinity to the Britiſh, becauſe the people, lying contiguous to Sarmatia, retained the Scythico-Celtic dialect, which was for a long time in uſe among the Britons.

(*e*) Frea, or Frica, was deemed to be the mother of the gods. See *Northern Antiquities*, and ſ. xi. note (*c*). Brotier ſays, that veſtiges of their

their ſymbolic repreſentation are ſtill ſubſiſting in Sweden, where the peaſants, in the month of February (the ſeaſon formerly ſacred to FREA), make boars of paſte, and uſe them in ſuperſtitious ceremonies. See Eccard, *De Rebus Franciæ Orientalis*, tom. i. p. 409.

(*f*) Pliny (b. xxxviii. ſ. 3) agrees with Tacitus that amber, or *ſuccinum*, was by the Germans called *gleſſum*; a word latiniſed from GLESS, or GLASS. He ſays, that it was found in great quantities in the iſlands of the northern ſeas, and that one of thoſe iſlands, remarkably productive, was known by the name of *Gleſſaria*. The Greeks uſed the word *electrum* for amber, and thence gave to the places that produced that ſubſtance the name of ELECTRIDES; but, confounding the VENETI (now the Venetians) with the VENEDI, who dwelt on the borders of Sarmatia, and were the conveyers of amber into Italy, they erroneouſly ſuppoſed that the ſubſtance, which they ſo much admired, was gathered on the banks of the ERIDANUS, now the Po. Adopting that miſtake, the poets feigned that the ſiſters of Phaeton were converted into poplars, and that their tears, diſtilling through the pores of the trees, formed the concretion, which ſerved to embelliſh the dreſs of the Roman ladies.

> Inde fluunt lachrymæ; ſtillataque ſole rigeſcunt
> De ramis electra novis, quæ lucidus amnis
> Excipit, et nuribus mittit geſtanda Latinis.
> METAMORPH. lib. ii. v. 364.

Authors make mention of other places, beſides the banks of the Po, where amber is gathered; ſuch as the coaſt of Marſeilles, and divers parts of Aſia, Africa, and even America;

but Hartman, who wrote the *Hiſtory of the Pruſſian Amber*, treats all thoſe accounts as fables, and denies *amber* to be found any where but in the northern countries of Europe, viz. Poland, Sileſia, Jutland, Holſtein, and Denmark; but moſt of all in Pruſſia, where the amber gathered on the coaſt yields that prince a handſome revenue. See Chambers's *Dictionary*, verbo *Amber*.

(*g*) Naturaliſts are much divided as to the origin of *amber*, and to what claſs of bodies it belongs; ſome referring it to the vegetable, others to the mineral, and ſome even to the animal kingdom. Its natural hiſtory, and its chemical analyſis, afford ſomething in favour of each opinion. Some have imagined it a concretion of the tears of birds, or the urine of certain beaſts; and others, a congelation formed in the Baltic Sea, or in fountains, where it is found ſwimming like pitch. On the other hand, it is ſuppoſed by many to be a bitumen trickling into the ſea from ſubterraneous ſources, and, when concreted, thrown aſhore by the waves. This laſt opinion ſeems now to be diſcarded. Many contend, that it is produced in Pruſſia by mixing with the vitriolic ſalts abounding in that country, and, its fluidity being fixed, it congeals into what we call *amber*. The chemiſts are as much divided as the naturaliſts: ſome of them refer it to the claſs of ſulphurs or bitumens, while others contend that it is of the vegetable kind, from its reſolving into the ſame principles with vegetables; viz. water, ſpirit, ſalt, and oil. See Chambers's *Dictionary*. To decide between ſo many contending parties is not the buſineſs of theſe annotations; but that amber is not a mineral or ſubterraneous ſubſtance, may be inferred from the ſpiders, ants, and bees, and other inſects,

ſects, which are almoſt univerſally found in the tranſparent body. Pope, in his ſatirical ſtyle, has ſaid,

> Pretty in *amber* to obſerve the forms
> Of hairs, and ſtraws, and dirt, and grubs, and worms;
> The things we know are neither rich nor rare,
> But wonder how the devil they got there.

If the authority of another poet may be admitted, Martial has removed the wonder. He tells us, in three beautiful epigrams, that amber is a diſtillation from the branches of the poplar; that in its fluid ſtate it catches various inſects, and afterwards, hardening into a ſolid ſubſtance, incloſes them in a tomb that enhances their value. The claſſical reader will, perhaps, be pleaſed to find Martial's elegant verſes inſerted in this place. The firſt is on a bee incloſed in amber:

> Et latet, et lucet Phaëtontide condita gutta,
> Ut videatur apis nectare clauſa ſuo:
> Dignum tantorum pretium tulit illa laborum,
> Credibile eſt ipſam ſic voluiſſe mori.
>
> Lib. iv. epig. 32.

The ſecond deſcribes a viper caught in the tranſparent ſubſtance, where it has a nobler tomb than Cleopatra.

> Flentibus Heliadum ramis dum vipera ſerpit,
> Fluxit in obſtantem ſuccina gemma feram,
> Quæ dum miratur pingui ſe rore teneri,
> Concreto riguit vincta repente gelu.
> Ne tibi regali placeas, Cleopatra, ſepulchro,
> Vipera ſi tumulo nobiliore jacet.
>
> Lib. iv. epig. 59.

The third epigram deſcribes an ant entombed in the ſame manner:

Dum

Dum phaëtonteâ formica vagatur in umbrâ,
Implicuit tenuem ſuccina gutta feram.
Sic modo quæ fuerat vitâ contempta manente,
Funeribus facta eſt nunc pretioſa ſuis.
Lib. vi. epig. 15.

Whether Martial had ſufficient phyſical knowledge may ſtill be matter of doubt; but a late writer (Formey, of the Academy at Berlin), who purſued his enquiry with unwearied diligence, has concluded, not without probability, that amber is a fluid that oozes from pine and poplar trees.

(*h*) The Sitones, according to Brotier and others, were the inhabitants of Norway; and, ſince they are mentioned as a people included in the general name of the Suevian nation, an idea may be formed of the vaſt extent of that prodigious territory, reaching from the Baltic to the Danube. The ſtate of ſlavery, to which they ſubmitted, is mentioned in the emphatic manner of Tacitus. They degenerated from liberty, becauſe they were content to be ſlaves in a land of freedom; and they were ſunk beneath the uſual debaſement of ſervitude, becauſe they endured the galling yoke of a female reign. Tacitus makes that reflection in the true ſpirit of a Roman republican, who knew that it was the policy of his country, not to ſuffer the ſofter ſex to intermeddle in any department of the ſtate. The ladies at Rome were, during their whole lives, ſubject to the authority of their fathers, their huſbands, or their brothers. From the expulſion of the Tarquin family, no title, alluding to the rank or employment of the huſband, was annexed to the wife. There were no terms in the Latin language to ſignify *ſenatreſs*, *dictatreſs*, or even *empreſs*. When the fathers were willing to laviſh

titles

titles and dignities on Livia, the mother of Tiberius, that politic prince reſtrained their zeal by reminding them, that it was a ſtate maxim not to be prodigal of honours in favour of women. *Annals*, b. i. ſ. 14. Freinſhemius, who, in his ſupplement to Livy, has given a deſcription of Germany, is angry with Tacitus for the opinion which ſo pointedly proſcribes a female reign. He ſays (b. civ. ſ. 21.) that, in the time of Tacitus, Norway was governed by a queen diſtinguiſhed by her ſpirit of enterpriſe. He adds, that there has been a ſucceſſion of other heroines, whoſe wiſdom, magnanimity, and warlike achievements the glory of the proudeſt monarch has not been able to ſurpaſs. But Freinſhemius, it ſhould be remembered, was hiſtoriographer to Chriſtina, Queen of Sweden, and his work is dedicated to his Royal miſtreſs.

Section XLVI.

(*a*) The Peucinians, often known by the name of Baſtarnians, and ſo called by Pliny, dwelt on the eaſtern ſide of Germany, and extended as far as the iſland now called Piczina, which is formed by the branches of the Danube, near the Pontic Sea. The territory of the Venedians, a contiguous people, lay on the north-eaſt ſide of Germany, and ſtretched over a long tract of country as far as the SINUS VENEDICUS, now the gulf of Dantzig. When the German nations burſt into Italy, France, and Spain, the Venedians, who were alſo called WINEDI, ſettled on vacant lands between the Viſtula and the Elbe, and ſoon after croſſed the Danube to plant themſelves in Dalmatia, Illyricum, and Carniola, near the Noric Alps. Their language was the Sclavonian, which

ſubſiſts

ſubſiſts at this day. The FENNIANS are deſcribed by Pliny, who calls their country Eningia, but, as Brotier obſerves, the better reading ſeems to be Feningia; now Finland, a province of Sweden.

(*b*) Sarmatia (as has been mentioned ſ. i. note *c*) was divided from Germany by the Viſtula, and a range of mountains; but ſtill we find that, towards the north, part of the country on the eaſt ſide of that river was ſuppoſed to belong to Germany, and was called GERMANIA TRANSVISTULANA. Tacitus, however, aſſigns all beyond the Viſtula to Sarmatia. Modern geographers, upon the authority of Pliny and other writers, conſidered the Peucinians and Venedians as German nations, and therefore, in their charts, called their territory by the name of GERMANO-SARMATIA. It is evident that, living beyond the Viſtula, they were properly inhabitants of Sarmatia, though their language, their modes of life, and their apparel clearly demonſtrate a German origin.

(*c*) The Fennians, or, in modern language, the Finlanders, were ſettled in Scandinavia, which was reckoned part of Germany. The reader will find in Warnefrid's Hiſtory (*De Geſtis Langobard.* lib. v.) an account of the poverty and ſavage manners of theſe people, perfectly coinciding with what we are told by Tacitus. "The SCRITOFINNI (for ſo he calls the Fenni) are ſurrounded with ſnow in the midſt of ſummer; and being in point of ſagacity almoſt on a level with the brute creation, they live on the raw fleſh of wild animals, and uſe the hide for their clothing. For the purpoſe of hunting the wild beaſts they have the art of bending pieces of wood into the ſhape of a bow, and with theſe they ſpring and leap amidſt the ſnows." Brotier ſees in this account a reſemblance of the ſnow-ſhoes,

or

or raquets, uſed by the North American ſavages. See Charlevoix, let. xiv.

(*d*) Having nothing, they were ſecure againſt the violence of men; and they had no reaſon to dread the vengeance of Heaven. Seneca has a ſimilar ſentiment. He ſays, in commendation of poverty, What can be happier than that ſtate, which promiſes perpetual liberty, without an idea of danger from man, without any thing to fear from the wrath of the gods? *Quanto hoc majus eſt, quo promittitur perpetua libertas, nullius nec hominis nec Dei timor?* Epiſt. xvii. Delivered by their extreme poverty from all apprehenſions, this rude and ſimple people had no deſires beyond their wretched condition: like Abdalominus, the gardener, in Quintus Curtius, they had nothing, and they wanted nothing. *Nihil habenti, nihil defuit.*

The Helluſians and Oxionians, who are the laſt people mentioned by Tacitus, are ſuppoſed by learned antiquaries to have been inhabitants of Lapland. Nothing more is known of them, than that fame reported them to be an ambiguous mixture of the human countenance and the limbs of wild beaſts. What gave birth to thoſe ancient fables was, probably, the dreſs of the natives, who, in thoſe regions of froſt and ſnow, were covered with the hides of animals, like the Samojedes, and other ſavage nations near the Frozen Ocean. But to amuſe his readers with a fabulous narrative was not the deſign of ſuch an author as Tacitus. He was not writing a romance. He meant to give, upon the fulleſt information, an authentic account of a people, whoſe fierce and unconquerable love of liberty was, as he ſays himſelf, more dangerous to the Roman empire than all the pomp and pride of oriental monarchs. He has accordingly left, in his Treatiſe of the Germans,

Germans, a faithful picture of ſociety in its wild, uncultivated ſtate. His work, compendious as it is, may be fairly called the moſt precious monument of antiquity.

Some critics have imagined that the great author wrote from invention, intending, by a fictitious draught of ſavage manners, to give a political ſatire on the manners of the Romans, like the Gulliver of Swift. But in anſwer to thoſe who, in this inſtance as well as many others, have ſuſpected the fidelity of the hiſtorian, it may be aſked, how it has happened, that the manners here delineated are a counterpart of the ſavage cuſtoms of Canada, and other parts of America? The ſame cauſes have produced the ſame effects in both parts of the world. It has been the ſcope of the foregoing notes to point out the ſimilitude as often as it occurred. The likeneſs is ſo ſtriking, that it ſerves to confirm the account given by Tacitus, and to prove, beyond a doubt, that he drew his colouring from nature, not from the ſtorehouſe of a lively imagination. The force of this argument was felt by Dr. Robertſon; and he has, accordingly, formed a compariſon between the ancient Germans and the ſavage tribes of America, which the reader will find, *Hiſt. of Charles V.* vol. i. p. 250.

It may be aſked, in the ſecond place, how it has happened that the manners of the ancient Germans can be traced with ſo much certainty in all the countries of Europe? The anſwer is obvious. The deſcendants of thoſe people, when they made their irruption into France, Spain, and Italy, carried with them the manners of their country, and founded laws, which ſprung from the ſame ſource. The codes ſtill extant, ſuch as the Salic, the Ripuarian, the Burgundian, the Lombard, and many others, evidently beſpeak

ſpeak their German origin. The Anglo-Saxon government in this country plainly ſhews from what ſoil it ſprung. The michel-gemote, or great meeting; the wittena-gemote, or meeting of the wiſe men; the ſhires, the hundreds, the compoſition for homicide, and, above all, the limited authority of the king, as Tacitus expreſſes it, *nec regibus infinita aut libera poteſtas*, are manifeſt proofs of the obligation the people of England are under to their German anceſtors for that free conſtitution, which for ſo many centuries has ſtood the ſhock of civil wars, and, though often tottering on the brink of deſtruction, ſtill rears its head, the pride of every honeſt Briton, and the wonder of foreign nations.

——————— ruituraque ſemper
Stat, mirum! moles.

Sir William Blackſtone, who knew how to be profound with eaſe and elegance, has truly ſaid, If we would inveſtigate the elements of the Engliſh laws, the originals ſhould be traced to their fountains; to the cuſtoms of the Britons and Germans, as recorded by Cæſar and Tacitus; to the codes of the northern nations, and, more eſpecially, to thoſe of the Saxon princes; but above all, to that inexhauſtible reſervoir of antiquities, the Feodal Law, or, as Spelman has entitled it, the Law of Nations in our Weſtern Orb. See vol. i. p. 36. The ſame obſervation has been made by Vertot with regard to the conſtitution of the French monarchy, which ſtood, for a length of time, on the foundation of civil liberty, till the three eſtates, or general council of the realm, were merged in the ſupreme court of juſtice, improperly called a parliament. Vertot has given a compendious view of Tacitus, and, by a curi-

ous

ous parallel between the manners of the Franks and thoſe of the ancient Germans, has clearly ſhewn the origin of the French conſtitution. See three diſſertations in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*, vol. ii. 4to edit. Thoſe pieces are a juſt commentary on Tacitus; and, if we add the laws and inſtitutions of other parts of Europe, we ſhall be of opinion with Monteſquieu, that "in Cæſar and Tacitus we read the code of Barbarian laws, and in the code we read Cæſar and Tacitus."

END OF THE NOTES

ON THE

MANNERS OF THE GERMANS.

NOTES

ON THE

LIFE OF AGRICOLA.

NOTES

ON THE

LIFE OF AGRICOLA.

THIS work is ſuppoſed by the commentators to have been written before the Treatiſe on the Manners of the Germans, in the third conſulſhip of the emperor Nerva, and the ſecond of Verginius Rufus, in the year of Rome 850, and of the Chriſtian æra 97. Brotier accedes to this opinion; but the reaſon, which he aſſigns, does not ſeem to be ſatisfactory. He obſerves that Tacitus, in the third ſection, mentions the emperor Nerva; but as he does not call him DIVUS NERVA, the deified Nerva, the learned commentator infers that Nerva was ſtill living. This reaſoning might have ſome weight, if we did not read, in ſection xliv, that it was the ardent wiſh of Agricola, that he might live to behold Trajan in the imperial ſeat. If Nerva was then alive, the wiſh to ſee another in his room would have been an awkward compliment to the reign-

ing prince. It is, perhaps, for this reaſon that Lipſius thinks this very elegant tract was written at the ſame time with the Manners of the Germans, in the beginning of the emperor Trajan. The queſtion is not very material, ſince conjecture alone muſt decide it. The piece itſelf is admitted to be a maſterpiece in the kind. Tacitus was ſon-in-law to Agricola; and while filial piety breathes through his work, he never departs from the integrity of his own character. He has left an hiſtorical monument highly intereſting to every Briton, who wiſhes to know the manners of his anceſtors, and the ſpirit of liberty that from the earlieſt time diſtinguiſhed the natives of Britain. " Agricola, as Hume obſerves, was the " general, who finally eſtabliſhed the dominion " of the Romans in this iſland. He governed " it in the reigns of Veſpaſian, Titus, and Do- " mitian. He carried his victorious arms north- " ward; defeated the Britons in every encoun- " ter, pierced into the foreſts and the mountains " of Caledonia, reduced every ſtate to ſubjection " in the ſouthern parts of the iſland, and chaced " before him all the men of fiercer and more in- " tractable ſpirits, who deemed war and death it- " ſelf leſs intolerable than ſervitude under the vic- " tors. He defeated them in a deciſive action, " which they fought under Galgacus; and having " fixed a chain of garriſons between the friths of " Clyde and Forth, he cut off the ruder and more " barren parts of the iſland, and ſecured the Ro- " man province from the incurſions of the barba- " rous inhabitants. During theſe military enter- " priſes, he neglected not the arts of peace. He " introduced laws and civility among the Britons; " taught them to deſire and raiſe all the conve- " niencies of life; reconciled them to the Ro- " man language and manners; inſtructed them " in

" in letters and ſcience; and employed every " expedient to render thoſe chains, which he " had forged, both eaſy and agreeable to them." Hume's *Hiſt.* vol. i. p. 9. In this paſſage Mr. Hume has given a ſummary of the Life of Agricola. It is extended by Tacitus in a ſtyle more open than the didactic form of the Eſſay on the German Manners required, but ſtill with the preciſion, both in ſentiment and diction, peculiar to the author. In rich but ſubdued colours he gives a ſtriking picture of Agricola, leaving to poſterity a portion of hiſtory, which it would be in vain to ſeek in the dry gazette-ſtyle of Suetonius, or in the page of any writer of that period.

Section I.

(*a*) Injuſtice to living merit proceeds from a variety of cauſes; from inattention, ignorance, or envy. We praiſe the paſt, and neglect the preſent. *Vetera extollimus, recentium incurioſi*, ſays Tacitus, *Annals*, b. ii. ſ. 88. Velleius Paterculus makes the ſame remark, and adds the reaſon. We envy the living, and venerate departed merit: by the former we think ourſelves overwhelmed; we edify by the latter. *Præſentia invidiâ, præterita veneratione proſequimur; et his nos obrui, illis inſtrui credimus.* Lib. ii. ſ. 92. Before either Tacitus or Paterculus, Horace had expreſſed the ſame ſentiment:

> Virtutem incolumem odimus,
> Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi.
>
> Lib. iii. ode 24.

> Though living virtue we deſpiſe,
> When dead, we praiſe it to the ſkies.

(*b*) Cornelius

(*b*) Cornelius Nepos tells us that *Chabrias*, the Athenian general, when recalled by the violence of the people, did not chooſe to ſtay long in the ſight of his fellow citizens, becauſe envy, the common vice of all free and great cities, would be ſure to behold riſing merit with a malignant eye. *Eſt enim hoc commune vitium in magnis liberiſque civitatibus, ut invidia gloriæ comes ſit, et libenter de his detrahant, quos eminere videant altius.* Corn. Nep. *in Chabriâ*, ſ. iii.

(*c*) Cicero has left a beautiful epiſtle to his friend Lucceius, earneſtly urging him to interweave with his hiſtory of Roman affairs a full account of Cicero's conſulſhip, and the various turns of fortune which he met with in conſequence of a firm and upright adminiſtration. This requeſt, he ſays, an awkward baſhfulneſs deterred him from making in perſon; but, ſeparated as they then were, he could ſpeak with confidence; for a letter does not bluſh. *Coram me tecum eadem hæc agere ſæpe conantem deterruit pudor quidam pænè ſubruſticus; quæ nunc expromam abſens audacius: epiſtola enim non erubeſcit.* He proceeds to acknowledge his ambition to live in hiſtory; he avows his hopes of obtaining from the remembrance of after ages a glorious immortality, and even the pleaſure of enjoying his poſthumous fame in his own lifetime. If his friend ſhould not comply with his wiſhes, he threatens to undertake the work himſelf, after the example of many illuſtrious men, who have written their own hiſtory. He is, however, aware that ſuch a performance may be liable to many objections. When a praiſe-worthy action occurs, the author muſt ſpeak of himſelf with reſerve and modeſty; and, where there happens to be room for cenſure, he may glide over the paſſage, or varniſh it with art, or paſs it by in ſilence.

ſilence. For this reaſon, the life of an eminent citizen, written by himſelf, is not entitled to much credit, and, by conſequence, the practice is fallen into diſrepute. No man, the critics obſerve, ſhould be the trumpeter of his own fame. The very public cryers, who declare the victors in the gymnaſtic games, are more modeſt: they crown the conquerors, and proclaim their names with an audible voice; but when, in their turn, they have gained a victory, they call other cryers to their aſſiſtance, that they themſelves may not be the publiſhers of their own fame. *Quod ſi a te non impetro, hoc eſt, ſi qua res te impedierit; cogar fortaſſe facere, quod nonnulli ſæpe reprehendunt: ſcribam ipſe de me, multorum tamen exemplo, et clarorum virorum. Sed, quod te non fugit, hæc ſunt in hoc genere vitia; et verecundius ipſi de ſeſe ſcribant neceſſe eſt, ſi quid eſt laudandum; et prætereant, ſi quid forte reprehendendum eſt. Accedit etiam ut minor ſit fides, minor auctoritas; multi denique reprehendant, et dicant verecundiores eſſe præcones ludorum gymnicorum, qui, cum cæteris coronas impoſuerint victoribus, eorumque nomina magnâ voce pronuntiârint, cum ipſi ante ludorum miſſionem coronâ donentur, alium præconem adhibeant, ne ſuâ voce ipſi ſe victores eſſe prædicent.* CICERO AD FAMILIARES, lib. v. epiſt. 12.

(*d*) The two perſons mentioned in this place, as having written memoirs of their own lives, were men of ſuperior eminence, diſtinguiſhed as well by their virtues as their abilities. Rutilius was conſul A. U. C. 649, before the Chriſtian æra 105. He had ſerved in the wars in Numidia; and in the year of Rome 657, when Mucius Scævola was appointed proconſular governor of Aſia Minor, he was choſen by that virtuous citizen in the rank of lieutenant governor. In the courſe of their adminiſtration, they acquired

quired the love and admiration of the province, by a conſtant exerciſe of thoſe virtues, which had been the practice, it may be ſaid the faſhion, of the citizens of Rome, but in that period began to decline, yet not ſo rapidly as to give to diſtinguiſhed merit the name of ſingularity. The adminiſtration of Scævola was pronounced by the ſenate a model for the conduct of all future governors. He had completed a thorough reform in the mode of collecting the revenues of the province, and thereby gave umbrage to the Roman knights, who were, at that time, the managers of all the tributes and impoſts paid by foreign nations. From the ſame order of men commiſſioners were choſen to hear and determine all complaints for peculation. A charge of that kind could not with any colour be brought againſt ſo revered a character as that of Mucius Scævola; but the men, who had been uſed to profit by extortion and rapine, were determined to wreak their malice on Rutilius, who had co-operated with the proconſul in all his wiſeſt regulations. They reſented the good he had done to others as an injury to themſelves. An accuſation was framed; and witneſſes were ſuborned. The cauſe was heard by the Roman knights; and no wonder that before ſuch a tribunal innocence fell a ſacrifice. In the number of commiſſioners who ſat in judgment, there was a Roman knight, of the name of Apicius, at that time a famous epicure, ſuppoſed to be of the ſame family with the ſecond of the name, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his gluttony in the reign of Tiberius. To avoid a ſentence of condemnation, Rutilius went into voluntary exile. This did not appeaſe the reſentment of the commiſſioners. They proceeded to judgment, and impoſed a fine that greatly exceeded the whole fortune

fortune of their devoted victim. Rutilius withdrew to the very province which he was ſaid to have plundered, and there lived in the higheſt credit, reſpected by all ranks of men, and honoured by the princes in alliance with Rome. The remainder of his life was a triumph over his enemies. Sylla granted him liberty to return to Rome, but he refuſed to accept that act of grace. At the breaking out of the civil wars, his friends ſuggeſted to him, that, in the convulſions of the ſtate, it was probable, that the various exiles would be reſtored to their country. " No," ſaid Rutilius, " I will never re-" turn: I had rather leave my country to bluſh " for the injuſtice which I have ſuffered, than " be an eye-witneſs of the horrors of war, and " the miſeries of a diſtracted people." During his exile he reviſed and publiſhed the ſpeeches which he had made on different occaſions at Rome. He alſo wrote the hiſtory of the Numantian wars, and the memoirs of his own life, to which Tacitus has alluded. Velleius Paterculus calls Rutilius the beſt man, not only of his own time, but of any age. He exerted himſelf, ſays the ſame hiſtorian, in oppoſition to Tiberius Gracchus, to ſupport the cauſe of the ſenate; and yet that very body became his open enemies. He was proſecuted for illegal exactions in the province of Aſia, and condemned, to the great grief of the city of Rome. *Quippe eam poteſtatem nacti equites Gracchanis legibus, cum in multos clariſſimos, atque innocentiſſimos viros ſæviſſent, tum Publium Rutilium, virum non ſæculi ſui, ſed omnis ævi optimum, interrogatum lege repetundarum, maximo cum gemitu civitatis, damnaverant. In iis ipſis, quæ pro ſenatu moliebatur, ſenatum habuit adverſarium.* See Vell.

Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. f. 13. Cicero, *De Claris Orat.* f. 115.

Æmilius Scaurus is another inſtance of that conſcious integrity with which an upright citizen could venture to talk of himſelf. He was conſul A. U. C. 639, before the Chriſtian æra 85. He was deſcended from a patrician family; but, having but a moderate fortune, he owed his elevation to his talents. He bore for many years the honourable title of PRINCE OF THE SENATE; a title which added nothing to his power, but gave him great weight and authority, implying ſuperior merit, and pre-eminence in virtue. Cicero ſays of him and Rutilius, that, though exerciſed in the practice of the forum, neither of them could be ranked in the firſt claſs of orators. They were not deficient in abilities, but eloquence was not their talent. *Neuter ſummi oratoris habuit laudem, et uterque in multis cauſis verſatus erat. Quamquam iis quidem non omnino ingenium, ſed oratorium ingenium defuit.* Of Scaurus in particular, Cicero adds, that in his ſpeeches there was the wiſdom of a ſtateſman, and the commanding gravity of a virtuous citizen; the more perſuaſive, as he delivered himſelf with the air of a man, who was giving his teſtimony, not with the art of an advocate pleading a cauſe. His mode of oratory was not calculated for the meridian of the forum, but in debate was wonderfully graceful in a man, who was prince of the ſenate. He ſpoke with prudence, and his character gave him weight and authority. *In Scauri oratione, ſapientis hominis et recti gravitas ſumma, et naturalis quædam inerat auctoritas, non ut cauſam, ſed ut teſtimonium dicere putares. Hoc dicendi genus, ad patrocinia mediocriter aptum videbatur; ad ſenatoriam vero ſententiam, cujus erat* ILLE PRINCEPS, *vel maximè; ſignificabat enim non prudentiam*

tiam ſolum, ſed, quod maximè rem continebat, fidem. De Claris Orat. ſ. cxi. and cxii. The character of Scaurus, drawn by Salluſt, gives a different idea of that eminent citizen. According to the hiſtorian, he preſerved the exterior decencies, the ſurface of virtue, diſguiſing his paſſions, and artfully concealing his vices; by his birth illuſtrious, enterpriſing, factious, fond of power, of riches, and the honours of the ſtate. *Æmilius Scaurus, homo nibilis, impiger, factioſus, avidus potentiæ, honoris, divitiarum; cæterum vitia ſua callidè occultans. Bell. Jugurth.* Delph. edit. p. 73. But the veracity of Salluſt is ſometimes problematical. His own morals were not the beſt. He was ſpiteful to Cicero; he preferred Cæſar to Cato, and was not always liſted on the ſide of virtue. The teſtimony of two ſuch men as Cicero and Tacitus may fairly be allowed to preponderate againſt a writer whoſe integrity is by no means eſtabliſhed. Valerius Maximus relates a fact that does honour to the memory of Scaurus; being accuſed by one Varius of having received a bribe from Mithridates to betray the intereſt of the commonwealth, he ſaid in his defence; "I appeal to the citizens of Rome, a great majority of whom could not be witneſſes of the conduct I purſued, and the honours I acquired; and I will dare ſhortly to ſtate my caſe: Varius, a native of Spain, charges Æmilius Scaurus with venality, and ſays that for a royal bribe he was a traitor to his country: Æmilius Scaurus denies the charge, and declares aloud that ſuch a crime is foreign to his heart. Which of us deſerves to be believed? The magnanimity of the anſwer excited the general admiration; ſhouts and acclamations followed, and to appeaſe the people, the proſecutor deſiſted from his wild attempt. *Qui cum pro roſtris accuſaretur, quod a rege Mithridate ob rem-publicam*

publicam prodendam pecuniam accepiſſet, cauſam ſuam ita egit: Audebo vos, quorum major pars honoribus et actis meis intereſſe non potuit, interrogare: Varius Sucronenſis Æmilium Scaurum regiâ mercede corruptum imperium populi Romani prodidiſſe ait: Æmilius Scaurus huic ſe affinem eſſe culpæ negat. Utri creditis? Cujus dicti admiratione populus commotus Varium ab illâ dementiſſimâ actione pertinaci clamore depulit. Val. Max. *De Fiduciâ ſui*, lib. iii. cap. 7. Scaurus had a ſon, who degenerated to ſuch a degree of profligacy from his father, that Pliny the elder is in doubt, which was the greateſt evil, the proſcriptions of Sylla, or the ædileſhip of Marcus Scaurus. *Cujus neſcio an ædilitas maximè proſtraverit mores civilis, majuſque ſit Syllæ malum tanta privigni potentia quam proſcriptio tot millium.* Pliny, lib. xxxvi. ſ. 24. In the paſſage already cited from Cicero De Claris Oratoribus, we are told that there was ſtill extant a collection of orations by Æmilius Scaurus, and his own life in three books, addreſſed to his friend Lucius Fuſidius; a work of value, which nobody read, while the Cyropædia, or Inſtitution of Cyrus, was in every body's hands; a work, it muſt be allowed, of great merit, but, excellent as it is, neither ſo intereſting to the Romans, nor ſuperior to the Memoirs of Scaurus. *Hujus et orationes ſunt, et tres ad Lucium Fuſidium libri ſcripti de vitâ ipſius actâ, ſane utiles, quos nemo legit. At Cyri vitam et diſciplinam legunt, præclaram illam quidem, ſed neque tam rebus noſtris aptam, nec tamen Scauri laudibus anteponendam.* *De Claris Orat.* ſ. 112.

(*e*) It has been already mentioned, that Agricola commanded in Britain in the time of Veſpaſian, Titus, and Domitian. The reign of the laſt is the evil period intended by Tacitus: ſee a deſcription of it, *Hiſt.* b. i. ſ. 2.

Section

Section II.

(*a*) Arulenus Ruſticus was tribune of the people A. U. C. 819, A. D. 66. Being then a young man of ſpirit, he wiſhed to diſtinguiſh himſelf by an early diſplay of thoſe principles of honour, which marked his conduct through the remainder of his life. He intended by his tribunitian authority to prevent a decree againſt Pœtus Thraſea. See *Annals*, b. xvi. ſ. 26. Being prætor, during the ſhort reign of Vitellius, he was ſent at the head of an embaſſy to treat of terms of accommodation with the generals of Veſpaſian's army, then at the gates of Rome; but neither the rank of ambaſſador, nor the character of the man could protect him from the outrages committed by the ſoldiers. Arulenus Ruſticus was wounded in the fray, and his lictor was murdered. *Hiſtory*, b. iii. ſ. 80. Pliny the younger makes honourable mention of Arulenus Ruſticus: he ſays to his friend, You well know how I loved and honoured that excellent man. You know by what encouragements he cheriſhed my youth, and what praiſes he beſtowed upon me at that time, to make me afterwards capable of deſerving them. *Scis enim quantopere ſummum illum virum ſuſpexerim dilexerimque; quibus ille adoleſcentiam meam exhortationibus foverit, quibus etiam laudibus, ut laudandus viderer, effecerit.* Lib. i. ep. 14. It was the misfortune of this eminent citizen to be in favour at the court of Domitian; but between the eſteem of a tyrant and his jealouſy the partition is thin, and hatred ſoon ſucceeds. The mean compliances of a courtier were foreign to the temper of a man nouriſhed in the ſtoic ſchool, and animated by the tenets of that proud philoſophy. He wrote the life of his friend Pætus Thraſea,

ſea, and for that offence was condemned to die. Regulus, a man who followed the deteſtable trade of an informer, undertook the management of the proſecution. Pliny, in a letter to one of his friends, ſays, Did you ever ſee a more abject wretch than Regulus has appeared, ſince the death of Domitian, during whoſe reign his conduct was no leſs infamous, though more concealed than under Nero? He not only promoted the proſecution againſt Arulenus Ruſticus, but exulted in his death; inſomuch that he actually recited and publiſhed a libel upon his memory, wherein he ſtyles him the *ape of the ſtoics*; adding that he was ſtigmatized by the wound he received in the cauſe of Vitellius. *Vidiſtine quemquam Marco Regulo timidiorem humilioremque poſt Domitiani mortem, ſub quo non minora flagitia commiſerat, quam ſub Nerone, ſed tectiora? Ruſtici Arulæi periculum foverat, exultaverat morte, adeo ut librum recitaret publicaretque, in quo Ruſticum inſectatur, atque etiam* STOICORUM SIMIAM *appellat. Adjicit Vitellianâ cicatrice ſtigmoſum. Agnoſcis eloquentiam Reguli!* Lib. i. ep. 5. The ſtigma of the *Vitellian ſcar*, to which Regulus alluded, was the effect of the wound received by Arulenus Ruſticus in the camp of Veſpaſian's general. Domitian conſidered him as a ſullen republican, the more dangerous as he profeſſed the haughty doctrine of the ſtoic ſect. Not content with taking away his life, he declared open war againſt philoſophy in general, and baniſhed the profeſſors of every denomination out of Italy. Epictetus was in the number. Every liberal art was extinguiſhed, and the manners went to ruin.

Pætus Thraſea, for whoſe panegyric Arulenus Ruſticus ſuffered death, was a native of Padua. He married the daughter of Cæcina Pætus, by the celebrated

celebrated Arria, who periſhed with her huſband in the reign of Claudius, and left a ſplendid proof of conjugal fidelity and heroic fortitude. She not only encouraged her huſband to diſpatch himſelf, but ſet him the example, ſtabbing herſelf firſt, and then preſenting the dagger to him, with theſe words: "Pætus, it gives no pain." Martial has four beautiful lines on the ſubject.

Caſta ſuo gladium cum traderet Arria Pæto,
Quem de viſceribus traxerat ipſa ſuis;
Si qua fides, vulnus, quod feci, non dolet, inquit,
Sed quod tu facies, hoc mihi, Pæte, dolet.
MARTIAL. lib. i. epig. 14.

When the chaſte Arria drew the reeking ſword
From her own breaſt, and gave it to her lord,
The wound, ſhe ſaid, believe me, I deſpiſe;
I feel that only, by which Pætus dies.

Their ſon-in-law, Pætus Thraſea, was of the ſtoic ſchool; in ſentiment and the whole tenour of his conduct wound up to the higheſt pitch of that boaſted ſect. He had the courage to be a virtuous citizen under the tyranny of Nero. Tacitus has made honourable mention of him in ſundry places; ſee *Annals*, b. xii. ſ. 49. b. xiv. ſ. 12 and 48. Nero at length was determined to cut him off, and in his perſon to deſtroy virtue itſelf. A proſecutor was, accordingly, found; all his praiſe-worthy actions were ſummed up, and, by the court logic of the times, ſtated as ſo many crimes. It was urged againſt him, that when Nero's letter, giving an account of the death of Agrippina, was read in the ſenate, Thraſea roſe from his ſeat, and left the houſe; that he ſeldom attended the juvenile ſports, inſtituted by the emperor; when the fathers were on the point of condemning a poet to death for a copy of verſes, he was the author of a milder ſentence; and, finally,

finally, that he did not aſſiſt at the funeral of Poppæa, a new divinity, whom Nero ſent to the gods by a kick on the belly, *Annals*, b. xvi. ſ. 21. He was allowed to chooſe his own mode of death. Arria, his wife, worthy of her mother of the ſame name, wanted to ſhare the fate of her huſband, but was diſſuaded by his advice. Thraſea died with the tranquillity of a philoſopher. See the account, *Annals*, b. xvi. ſ. 34 and 35, and alſo the *Appendix* to b. xvi. By his wife, Arria, he left a daughter, named FANNIA, who was married to his friend, Helvidius Priſcus. Pliny the younger has placed her character in the moſt amiable light. He deſcribes her emaciated by a fit of illneſs, in a total decay, with nothing but her ſpirits to ſupport her, and a vigour of mind worthy of the wife of Helvidius, and the daughter of Thraſea. He adds, She will be, after her deceaſe, a model for all wives, and, perhaps, worthy to be deemed an example of fortitude by the men. The whole letter is in a ſtrain of tender affection, and has all the beauties of ſtyle and ſentiment that diſtinguiſh that elegant author. B. vii. ep. 19.

(*b*) Senecio was a native of Spain, born in the province of Bœtica, where he ſerved the office of quæſtor in the reign of Domitian, and never aſpired to any higher honour. Not chooſing to be a candidate for the magiſtracy, he was conſidered as an obſtinate republican, hoſtile to the eſtabliſhed government, and a friend to innovation. He undertook the proſecution of Bæbius Maſſa, who was charged with extortion during his government in Spain. By the appointment of the ſenate, he had the younger Pliny for his coadjutor in that buſineſs. Maſſa was convicted, and his effects ſequeſtered. Pliny relates the fact, in a letter to his friend Tacitus; and being perſuaded that

that the hiſtorical works of ſuch a writer would be immortal, he begs to have a niche in that temple of fame. If, ſays he, we are ſolicitous to have our pictures drawn by the beſt artiſt, ought we not to deſire that our conduct may be deſcribed by the ableſt hiſtorian? *Auguror* (*nec me fallit augurium*) *hiſtorias tuas immortales futuras, quo magis illis* (*ingenuè fatebor*) *inſeri cupio. Nam ſi eſſe nobis curæ ſolet, ut facies noſtra ab optimo quoque artifice exprimatur, nonne debemus optare, ut operibus noſtris ſimilis tui ſcriptor prædicatorque contingat?* Lib. vii. ep. 33. Tacitus was, probably, writing the hiſtory of Domitian, in whoſe reign Bæbius Maſſa was condemned. Pliny, as well as Cicero, wiſh to live in hiſtory. Montaigne condemns them both, as inſtances of immoderate ambition; but let it be remarked, ſays Melmoth, that the ambition of Pliny will appear far more reaſonable than that of Cicero. The latter does not ſcruple to preſs his friend, Lucceius, to tranſgreſs the rules of hiſtory, and to break the bounds of truth in his favour. *Te plane, etiam atque etiam rogo ut et ornes ea vehementius quam fortaſſe ſentis, et leges hiſtoriæ negligas, amorique noſtro pluſculum etiam quam concedit veritas largiaris:* whereas Pliny, with a nobler ſpirit, expreſsly declares, that he does not deſire Tacitus ſhould heighten the facts, for actions of real worth need only to be ſet in their true light. *Nam nec hiſtoria debet egredi veritatem, et honeſte factis veritas ſufficit.* See Cicero to Lucceius, lib. v. ep. 12; and ſee Pliny to Tacitus, lib. vii. ep. 33. It does not appear that Pliny incurred any danger for the part he acted againſt Bæbius Maſſa; but Senecio, who was the firſt mover in that buſineſs, provoked a number of enemies. He had written the life of Helvidius, and that work gave him the finiſhing blow. The

praiſe beſtowed upon that excellent man inflamed the rage of Domitian. Mettius Carus, a notorious proſecutor of the beſt men in Rome, ſtood forth as the accuſer of Senecio, who acknowledged himſelf the author of the book, but urged, in his defence, that he wrote it at the deſire of Fannia, the widow of Helvidius. Pliny informs us that Fannia was cited to appear before the ſenate. The proſecutor, in a tone of menace, aſked her, *Did you make ſuch a requeſt?* I DID. *Did you ſupply him with materials?* I DID SUPPLY HIM. *Was it with the knowledge of your mother, Arria?* IT WAS NOT. Throughout the whole of her examination, not a word betrayed the ſmalleſt ſymptom of fear. She had the courage to preſerve a copy of the very book, which the ſenate, overawed by the tyranny of the times, had ordered to be ſuppreſſed; and, taking care to preſerve the hiſtory of her huſband, ſhe carried with her the cauſe of her exile. *Nam cum Senecio reus eſſet, quod de vitâ Helvidii libros compoſuiſſet, rogatumque ſe a Fanniâ in defenſione dixiſſet, quærente minaciter Mettio Caro* AN ROGASSET? *reſpondit,* ROGAVI. *An commentarios ſcripturo dediſſet?* DEDI. *An ſciente matre?* NESCIENTE. *Poſtremo nullam vocem cedentem periculo emiſit. Quin etiam illos ipſos libros, quamquam ex neceſſitate et metu temporum abolitos ſenatus conſulto, ſervavit, habuit, tulitque in exilium exilii cauſam.* Lib. vii. epiſt. 19. This was the third time of her going into exile. She had accompanied her huſband twice in the ſame diſgrace, under Nero, and under Veſpaſian. Her mother, Arria, Thraſea's widow, was baniſhed for a like cauſe; for the hiſtory of Helvidius, written, as already mentioned, by Arulenus Ruſticus. During theſe proſecutions, the ſenators were held beſieged by a party of armed ſoldiers; they did not dare to utter

utter a ſentiment, or even to groan under the tyranny of the times; they were truly, as Pliny deſcribes them, a timid and ſpeechleſs aſſembly, where to ſpeak your mind was dangerous; and to declare what you did not think, was the worſt ſtate of ſervitude. *Proſpeximus curiam; ſed curiam* TREPIDAM *et* ELINGUEM, *cum dicere quod velles, periculoſum; quod nolles, miſerum eſſet.* See b. viii. ep. 14. Senecio, for his praiſe of Helvidius, was found guilty, and, to glut the cruelty of Domitian, adjudged to death. His work was burnt by the public executioners. For more of Bæbius Maſſa, and Mettius Carus, ſee this Tract, f. 45.

Helvidius Priſcus, the ſubject of Senecio's panegyric, was born at Terracina, a municipal town in Italy. He was confirmed in the doctrines of the ſtoic ſchool by his father-in-law, Pætus Thraſea. His character, drawn by the maſterly hand of Tacitus, may be ſeen, *Hiſt.* b. iv. f. 5. He acted, at all times, the part of a firm, a virtuous, and independent ſenator. When Thraſea was doomed to death by Nero, Helvidius was involved in the ruin of his father-in-law, and ſent into baniſhment. See *Annals,* b. xvi. f. 35. After the death of Nero, he returned to Rome, and in the ſenate delivered a vehement ſpeech againſt Eprius Marcellus, the chief inſtrument in the deſtruction of Thraſea. *Hiſt.* b. iv. f. 43. Being advanced to the dignity of prætor, he aſſiſted at the laying of the firſt ſtone of the capitol, which was then to be rebuilt, A. U. C. 823, of the Chriſtian æra 70. *Hiſt.* b. iv. f. 53 and 54. In the reign of Veſpaſian, he was conſidered as a determined republican, and, as ſuch, charged by his enemies with a deſign to reſtore the old conſtitution. Dio Caſſius, who often betrays a ſecret rancour to-

wards eminent characters, repreſents Helvidius as a violent partiſan, adverſe to the eſtabliſhed government, a declaimer in praiſe of the old democracy, and often launching out into fierce invectives againſt Veſpaſian. Had this picture been copied from the life, it is not probable that two ſuch men as Tacitus and Pliny would have mentioned him in terms of reſpect little ſhort of veneration. It is true, that he frequently ſtood in oppoſition even to Veſpaſian; another Cato againſt Cæſar. The emperor was at length ſo far irritated as to forbid him the ſenate. Do you mean, ſaid Helvidius, to exclude me for ever? No, replied Veſpaſian; attend there, if you will, but you muſt be a ſilent ſenator. Then, ſaid Helvidius, you muſt not call upon me for my opinion; if I am called upon, I ſhall deliver it with the freedom of an honeſt man. This diſcourſe ſo enraged Veſpaſian, that, forgetting himſelf, and his character, he threatened Helvidius with death. The intrepid ſtoic returned the following anſwer: "I did not ſay, that I am "immortal: you may, if you will, put me to "death: in ſo doing you will act YOUR part; "and, in dying without fear or trembling, I "ſhall act MINE." This is recorded by Arrian, in his Memoirs of Epicurus, as an anſwer worthy of a Roman, and a diſciple of the ſtoic ſchool. His conduct, from the opening of Veſpaſian's reign, was ſuch as gave umbrage to the court. When all ranks of men went forth to meet the emperor on his arrival in Italy, Helvidius did not ſalute him by the name of Cæſar, but treated him as if he had been no more than a private man. In the edicts, which he iſſued in his office of prætor, he made no mention of the emperor. Suetonius, *Life of Veſp.* ſ. 15. Theſe and other circumſtances conſpired againſt him. Mucianus,

Mucianus, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, inflamed the indignation of the emperor, and, at length, prevailed upon him to abandon Helvidius to the judgment of the ſenate. He was ſent into exile, and ſoon after followed by an order for his execution. Veſpaſian, according to Suetonius, diſpatched meſſengers to countermand the ſentence; but it was either too late, or the emperor was impoſed upon by a falſe account, that the blow was already ſtruck. In this manner Helvidius fell a victim. He left a daughter by Fannia, of whom nothing is known: he alſo left a ſon, the iſſue of his firſt marriage, for a further account of whom, ſee this Tract, ſ. xlv. The Roman ſtory, ſays Lord Orrery (*Remarks on Pliny*, b. vii. ep. 19), cannot produce another inſtance of ſo illuſtrious a family, diſtinguiſhed by a ſucceſſion equally bright in heroes and heroines, married among themſelves, and more cloſely allied by their virtues than by their marriages.

Liſt of the Family.

Cæcina Pætus married the firſt Arria.

Thrasea Pætus married their daughter, the ſecond Arria.

Helvidius Priscus married Fannia, the daughter of the ſecond Arria.

Helvidius the younger (ſon of Helvidius Priscus by his firſt wife) married Anteia, the daughter of Publius Anteius, who, from his attachment to Agrippina, fell a ſacrifice to the jealouſy of Nero. See *Annals*, b. xvi. ſ. 14.

Thus ſtands the genealogy of this diſtinguiſhed houſe.

(*c*) The cuſtom of deſtroying books is of ancient date, and was chiefly exerciſed under deſpotic governments. Before the invention of printing,

printing, there was no way of multiplying copies but by the induſtry of tranſcribers, and, at that time, the vengeance of men in power might ſucceed. At preſent the common hangman may burn one or more copies of a work deſervedly condemned to the flames; but the friends of ſedition will take care to be provided with a number, and even the curious will give them a place in their cabinets. It has been mentioned in the laſt note, that Fannia, the widow of Helvidius, carried the memoirs of her huſband into exile; and yet thoſe monuments of genius, as Tacitus calls them, have not come down to poſterity. It muſt be admitted, that, where the people live under a conſtitution, ſo well mixed and balanced, that liberty and property are fully ſecured, thoſe who are intruſted with the adminiſtration are bound by their duty to the public, to put the laws in force, in order to cruſh the ſeeds of treaſon and rebellion. This principle prevailed in the beſt days of the Roman republic; and accordingly we read in Livy, that, in the ſecond Punic war, when innovations in the religious rites of the Romans were introduced by tumultuous aſſemblies in the city of Rome, the ædiles and triumviri were ſharply accuſed by the ſenate, for not preventing ſuch abuſes and diſorderly meetings. *Incuſati graviter ab ſenatu ædiles triumvirique capitales, quod non prohiberent.* The ſame writer adds, that, the miſchief being found too ſtrong for the ordinary magiſtrates, the prætor of the city, to whom the buſineſs was committed by the fathers, iſſued his edict, whereby all perſons who had in their poſſeſſion any books, that contained either predictions, forms of prayer, or religious ceremonies, were enjoined to deliver up the ſame before the next enſuing kalends of April. *Ubi potentius jam eſſe id malum apparuit, quam ut minores*

minores per magiſtratus ſedaretur, Marco Atilio, prætori urbis, negotium ab ſenatu datum eſt, ut his religionibus populum liberaret. Is et in concione ſenatuſconſultum recitavit, et edixit, ut quicumque libros vaticinos, precationeſve, aut artem ſacrificandi conſcriptam haberet, eos libros omnes ad ſe ante kalendas Apriles deferret. Livy, lib. xxv. ſ. 1. Under the emperors, when public liberty was extinguiſhed, every thing was turned into the crime of violated majeſty. Cremutius Cordus had praiſed Brutus in his annals, and called Caſſius *the laſt true Roman.* For this he was obliged to finiſh his days by a total abſtinence from food, and his work was ordered to be burnt by the ædiles. But they remained, ſays Tacitus, in private hands, and were circulated notwithſtanding the prohibition. The hiſtorian adds, that nothing ſo clearly ſhews the ſtupidity of the men, who fancy, that by an act of arbitrary power they can prevent the knowledge of after times. Genius gains ſtrength and authority from perſecution; and the foreign deſpots, who have had recourſe to the ſame violent meaſures, have only ſucceeded to aggravate their own diſgrace, and raiſe the glory of the writer. *Annals*, b. iv. ſ. 35. We read in Seneca, that this way of puniſhing individuals, when nothing in their writings affected the public, was introduced by Auguſtus in the caſe of Labienus, a man of genius and an eminent orator. His fame was great, and the applauſe of the public was rather extorted, than voluntarily given. No man objected to his character, who did not pay a tribute to his talents. Againſt this man a new puniſhment was invented; by the contrivance of his enemies, all his books were burnt by the public executioner. Seneca concludes his account of this proceeding with a fine reflection.

The

The policy, he says, of punishing men for their literary merit was altogether new. Happily for the good of mankind, this species of tyranny was not devised before the days of Cicero. What would have been the consequence, if the triumvirate had been able to proscribe the genius of that consummate orator? The gods, in their just dispensations, took care that this method of crushing the powers of the mind, by illegal oppression, should begin at the point of time when all genius ceased to exist. *Res nova et insueta, supplicia de ingeniis sumi. Quid enim futurum fuit, si ingenium Ciceronis triumviris libuisset proscribere? Dii melius, quod eo seculo ista ingeniorum supplicia cæperunt, quo et ingenia desierunt.* Seneca, *Controv.* lib. v. *in præfatione.* Lord Bacon has a beautiful thought on this subject. *The punishing of wits enhances their authority; and a forbidden writing is thought to be a certain spark of truth, that flies up in the face of those who seek to tread it out.*

(*d*) Pliny describes the senate in a state of stupefaction, forgetting almost every thing, the liberal arts, and the rules and privileges of their own order. In such times what useful knowledge could be acquired? The senate was convened to do nothing, or to be plunged in guilt and cruelty. They were either a laughing-stock, or the instruments of the vilest tyranny. The fathers were involved in the calamities of the times; the citizens of Rome groaned under oppression during a number of years; and, in that dreadful period, their faculties were debased, and the vigour of their minds utterly extinguished. *Quid tunc disci potuit? quid didicisse juvit? cum senatus aut ad otium, aut ad summum nefas vocaretur; et modo ludibrio, modo dolori relentus, nunquam seria, tristia sæpe censeret. Eadem mala jam senatores, jam participes malorum, multos per annos*

vidimus

vidimus tulimuſque, quibus ingenia noſtra, in poſterum quoque hebetata, fracta, contuſa ſunt. Pliny, lib. viii. ep. 14. But amidſt all this tame reſignation, a ſenſe of injuries, however ſuppreſſed, was rankling in every breaſt. Men could not forget the maſſacre of ſo many citizens of conſular rank, and the baniſhment of the moſt illuſtrious women in Rome. See ſection xlv. and note (*a*). They groaned under the yoke of bondage, and yet felt, in ſecret, that liberty was the natural element of a Roman.

Section III.

(*a*) On the death of Domitian, that emperor's acts were reſcinded, and Nerva began his reign, A. U. C. 849; he adopted Trajan in October or November 850, and died on or about the 21ſt January, 851. Trajan, from that time, was called Nerva Trajanus. As Nerva is not called DIVUS, that is, the DEIFIED NERVA, Lipſius and moſt of the commentators have inferred that Nerva was ſtill alive. But how Trajan, in that ſhort time between his adoption and the commencement of his reign, could be ſaid to be every day increaſing the public happineſs, is not eaſy to comprehend. It ſeems more probable that he was emperor of Rome when Tacitus wrote the Life of Agricola, and the compliment paid to him in ſection xlv. implies that he was then the reigning prince. The words are, *In hac beatiſſimâ ſæculi luce principem Trajanum videre*; in this æra of public felicity to ſee Trajan on the imperial ſeat. That wiſh of Agricola would, ſurely, not have been ſo openly expreſſed during the life of another prince. However the fact may be, it is certain that Nerva crowded into his ſhort reign a number of virtues, which were imitated by Trajan, Hadrian, and both the Antonines;

nines; a period of ninety years, which may be truly called the golden age of the empire.

(b) The public ſecurity, SECURITAS PUBLICA, was an inſcription on the medals of the times. Though, in the very outſet of his reign, Nerva ſhewed himſelf diſpoſed to favour civil liberty, yet Pliny gives an extraordinary picture of Rome in that very period. The ſervitude of former times, he ſays, left the citizens in a total ignorance of all liberal arts, and a groſs oblivion of the ſenatorian laws and privileges. For who is willing to learn what is of no kind of uſe? It is difficult to retain what you acquire, without conſtant exerciſe. The return of liberty found us rude and ill-inſtructed; and yet, charmed with the novelty of public freedom, we are forced to reſolve before we underſtand. *Priorum temporum ſervitus, ut aliarum optimarum artium, ſic etiam juris ſenatorii oblivionem quamdam et ignorantiam induxit. Quotus enim quiſque, tam patiens, ut velit diſcere quod in uſu non ſit habiturus? Adde, quod difficile eſt tenere, quæ acceperis, niſi exerceas. Itaque reducta libertas rudes nos et imperitos deprehendit, cujus dulcedine accenſi, cogimur quædam facere, antequam noſſe.* Pliny, lib. viii. ep. 14. This deſcription applies directly to a neighbouring nation. They were intoxicated with the acquiſition of liberty, but did not underſtand the nature of a free conſtitution. They were worſe than the blind mentioned by Taciſtus, and after him by Monteſquieu: they built CHALCEDON, while they had BYZANTIUM in their view. The Romans, as we ſee in Pliny's account, proceeded in a different manner: they employed themſelves in the ſtudy of their ancient laws, in order to ſettle a regular government, and their endeavours were ſeconded by the virtues of Nerva and Trajan.

(*c*) Fifteen

(*c*) Fifteen years was the period of Domitian's reign. Tacitus ſpeaks of it with horror, and promiſes to review the tyranny and abject ſlavery of thoſe diſmal times. It is to be regretted, that ſuch a ſavage as Domitian has eſcaped from the pen of Tacitus. Had his work come down to us, we ſhould have ſeen the tyrant ſtretched on the rack of hiſtory. The memorial of happineſs under Nerva and Trajan, which he alſo promiſed, was either never finiſhed, or is now unfortunately loſt.

Section IV.

(*a*) Forojulium was a colony in Narbonne Gaul, now called FREJUS, or FREJULES, ſituated at the mouth of the river AGENS, on the Mediterranean, about forty miles north-eaſt of Toulon. It was originally a place of conſiderable magnificence, as appears in a poem written by MICHAEL HOSPITAL, chancellor of France; in which, after mentioning Forojulium, then reduced to a ſmall city, he deſcribes the ruins of a pompous theatre, the grand arches, the public baths, and the aqueducts. He adds, that the ſtructure at the port was laid in ruins, and where there was formerly a port, it is now a dry ſhore, with adjacent gardens.

> Inde Forum Julii, parvam nunc venimus urbem,
> Apparent veteris veſtigia magna theatri;
> Ingentes arcus, et thermæ, et ductus aquarum;
> Apparet moles antiqui diruta portûs;
> Atque ubi portus erat, ficcum nunc littus, et horti.
>
> Delphin Edition of TACITUS, vol. iv. p. 176.

(*b*) The management of all the foreign revenues was in the hands of the Roman knights. Auguſtus left the appointment of ſome of the provinces

provinces to the diſcretion of the ſenate, and reſerved others for his own nomination. The laſt were called *procuratores Cæſaris*, *imperial procurators*, and were either created Roman knights by virtue of their employment, or conſidered as of equal dignity. The money collected by the officers of the ſenate was paid into the public treaſury *(Ærarium)*, and that of the imperial procurators into the FISCUS, or exchequer of the prince. The rapacity of theſe men may be reckoned among the cauſes that finally wrought the downfall of the empire. See *Annals*, b. xii. ſ. 60.

(*c*) Seneca has given an admirable character of Agricola's father. If, ſays he, we need the example of a great and exalted mind, let us imitate Julius Græcinus, that excellent man, whom Caius Cæſar (Caligula) put to death, for no other reaſon, than becauſe he had more virtue than a tyrant could endure. *Si exemplo magni animi opus eſt, utamur Græcini Julii, viri egregii, quem Caius Cæſar occidit, ob hoc unum, quod melior vir eſſet, quam eſſe quemquam tyranno expediret.* De Beneficiis, lib. ii. ſ. 21. He wrote books of huſbandry, and his delight in agriculture is ſuppoſed to have given the name of Agricola to his ſon.

(*d*) Marcus Silanus was highly reſpected, not only for his birth and rank, but alſo for his eminent virtues. He had the misfortune of being father-in-law to Caligula. He incurred the hatred of that tyrant by his honeſt counſels. He enjoyed the privilege of being the firſt, whoſe opinion was aſked by the conſul in the ſenate; but, to deprive him of that honour, Caligula ordered, that, from that time, all of conſular dignity ſhould vote according to their ſeniority. He endeavoured to prevail on Julius Græcinus (mentioned

(mentioned in the laſt note) to undertake an accuſation againſt Silanus; but not ſucceeding, he at length took away his life on a frivolous pretence. Though the weather was rough, the tyrant choſe to make a little voyage by ſea. Silanus, with whom that element did not agree, excuſed himſelf from being of the party. This was conſtrued into a crime. Caligula pretended that he ſtaid at Rome, in order to make himſelf maſter of the city, in caſe any accident ſhould befall the prince; and for that reaſon compelled him to cut his throat with a razor. Crevier's *Emperors*, vol. iii. b. 7.

(*e*) We know nothing of Agricola's mother beyond the excellent character given of her by Tacitus. Like ſome of the beſt and nobleſt of the Roman matrons, ſhe attended to the education of her ſon, which at Rome was a matter of the firſt importance. The reader will find the advantages of the maternal care ſtated at large in the Dialogue concerning Oratory, ſ. 28.

(*f*) This city (now Marſeilles) was founded by a colony of the Phocæans, who carried with them the poliſhed manners and the literature of Greece. Strabo ſays, the Roman nobility had been uſed to travel to Athens for their improvement, but of late were content to viſit Maſſilia, or *Marſeilles*. See Tacitus, *Annals*, b. iv. ſ. 43.

(*g*) Military ſcience, a thorough knowledge of the laws, and the powers of eloquence, were the accompliſhments by which a citizen of Rome raiſed himſelf to the honours of the magiſtracy, and the conſulſhip. This was not only the caſe during the republic, but continued under the emperors. The man, who devoted himſelf to the ſpeculations of philoſophy, or to a life of literature, could not, by thoſe abſtract ſtudies, open his

his way into the ſenate. Agricola was aware of this, and therefore relinquiſhed the metaphyſical ſyſtems, to which he felt himſelf ſtrongly addicted.

Section V.

(*a*) Suetonius Paulinus was ſent by Nero to command in Britain, A. U. 814, and of the Chriſtian æra 61. Of this officer, one of the ableſt that Rome produced during the firſt century of the Chriſtian æra, an ample character is given by Tacitus, *Annals*, b. xiv. ſ. 29. We learn from the elder Pliny, that in the beginning of the reign of Claudius he commanded in Mauritania, and, having defeated the Barbarians in ſeveral battles, laid waſte the country as far as Mount Atlas. Pliny, lib. v. ſ. 1. After the death of Galba, he fought on the ſide of Otho againſt Vitellius; and being compelled, againſt his own judgment, to hazard a battle at Bedriacum, he did not dare, after his defeat, to return to his camp, but ſaved himſelf by flight. *Hiſt.* b. ii. ſ. 44. He afterwards patched up a reconciliation with Vitellius. *Hiſt.* b. ii. ſ. 60. In Britain he ſignalized himſelf by his great military talents; and in that ſchool of war Agricola, then about twenty years old, acquired that experience, which enabled him, in proceſs of time, to reduce the whole iſland to ſubjection.

(*b*) Rank in the Roman armies, ſuch as tribune or centurion, was the claim of merit. It was, for that reaſon, the cuſtom of young men of illuſtrious families to attend in the train of the general, in order to learn the firſt rudiments of war, or, in the modern phraſe, to *ſee ſervice*. The young officer lived at head quarters. By learning to obey, he was taught how to command at a future

a future time. He bore ſome reſemblance to what the French have called an *aide de camp*. Suetonius ſays that Julius Cæſar's firſt campaign was in Aſia, as tent-companion to Marcus Thermus the prætor. *Stipendia prima fecit in Aſiâ, Marci Thermi prætoris contubernio.* Suet. *in Jul. Cæſ.* ſ. 2.

(*c*) There were ſo many candidates for the rank of tribune, that the general, in order to divide his favours, often granted thoſe commiſſions for the term of ſix months. Thus we ſee Pliny, in a letter to Soſſius, requeſting a ſix months tribuneſhip for Calviſius, whom he commends in the higheſt terms. *Hunc rogo ſemeſtri tribunatu ſplendidiorem et ſibi et avunculo facias.* Lib. iv. ep. 4. It is probable, however, that Agricola's merit obtained a full commiſſion; but he did not avail himſelf of his preferment to gain his *commeatus*, which Gronovius calls, *jus abſentiæ a ſignis*, the right of being abſent from the colours. Thoſe exemptions from duty were often improperly granted, to the great detriment of the ſervice, as we ſee in the Hiſtory, b. i. ſ. 46.

(*d*) While Suetonius was employed in the reduction of the Iſle of *Mona*, now *Angleſey*, the chief ſeat of the Druids, and conſequently the centre of ſuperſtition, the Britons, taking advantage of his abſence, roſe in arms; and, headed by Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, attacked the Roman ſtations, and laid a ſcene of blood and carnage in every quarter. No leſs than 70,000 were put to the ſword without diſtinction. Suetonius with his ſmall army marched back through the heart of the country, to the protection of London, then a flouriſhing city; but he found, on his arrival, that the place was not tenable. He abandoned it to the mercileſs fury of the enemy,

enemy, and it was accordingly reduced to aſhes. But this cruelty was revenged by Suetonius in a great and deciſive battle, in which 80,000 Britons are ſaid to have periſhed. Boadicea put an end to her life by poiſon. See the account at large, *Annals*, b. xiv. ſ. 29, to the end of ſection 37. In this important ſcene of military operations, a mind like that of Agricola, young, intent, and ardent, could not fail to prepare himſelf for that renown, which he was deſtined to acquire by the complete conqueſt of the iſland.

Section VI.

(*a*) The quæſtorſhip was the firſt office entered upon by thoſe who aſpired to the higher magiſtracies. It might be undertaken at the age of twenty-four. Thus in the *Annals*, b. iii. ſ. 29, we find Tiberius applying to the ſenate to introduce the eldeſt ſon of Germanicus, before he was qualified by his age.

(*b*) Salvius Titianus was the brother of Otho, who, for a ſhort time, was emperor of Rome. During the competition with Vitellius, he was the commander in chief of his brother's army. His raſh counſels hurried on the laſt deciſive action at Bedriacum, where his party was totally ruined. He ſurvived that defeat, and the victor did not think him worthy of his reſentment. See more of him, *Hiſt.* b. i. and ii.

(*c*) The office of tribune owed its origin to a violent diſpute between the patricians and plebeians, A. U. C. 260; when the latter, making a defection, could not be reduced to order, till they obtained the privilege of chooſing ſome magiſtrates out of their own body, for the defence of their liberties, and to ward off all grievances

ances impoſed upon them by their ſuperiors. At firſt two only were elected; three more were added in a ſhort time; and A. U. C. 297, the number increaſed to ten, which continued ever after. Whoever is converſant in Roman hiſtory will recollect that theſe new officers, appointed at firſt as the redreſſers of grievances, uſurped the power of doing almoſt whatever they pleaſed. They were reputed *ſacroſancti*, which they confirmed by law; ſo that it was deemed an act of impiety to interrupt them when they were ſpeaking. Their interpoſing in matters debated by the ſenate was called *interceſſio*, and their authority was declared by one word, VETO. The emperors left them little more than the name and ſhadow of magiſtracy, by contriving to have the ſame power veſted in themſelves: hence they were ſaid to be *tribunitia poteſtate donati*. See *Annals*, b. i. ſ. 2. Pliny the younger ſtates his opinion of the nature of the office, and ſays, when he was tribune, he declined to plead in any cauſe; not thinking it fit, that he, who could command others to be ſilent, ſhould himſelf be ſilenced by an hour-glaſs. *Deforme arbitrabar hunc, qui jubere poſſet tacere quemcumque, huic ſilentium clepſydrâ indici.* Lib. i. ep. 23.

(*d*) The office of prætor was firſt inſtituted in the year of Rome 389, to gratify the patrician order with a new dignity, in conſideration of their having reſigned the conſulſhip to the choice of the people. Livy, b. vii. ſ. 1. In proceſs of time, eight prætors were choſen annually, and had their ſeparate provinces in the adminiſtration of juſtice. One had juriſdiction in all private cauſes between the citizens of Rome; the ſecond decided in all ſuits between ſtrangers and the inhabitants of Rome. One was called PRÆTOR URBANUS; the other, PRÆTOR PEREGRINUS.

NUS. Livy, b. xxiv. f. 44, expreſsly mentions theſe diſtinct offices. The other ſix prætors were to ſit in judgment in all criminal matters. The authority of the judge, who preſided in civil cauſes, was called JURISDICTIO: when the proceeding was for crimes and miſdemeanors, it took the name of QUÆSTIO: if before an extraordinary judicature, it was then termed COGNITIO. So the matter is accurately explained by Lipſius. But the new magiſtrate created by Auguſtus, called the governor of the city, PRÆFECTUS URBIS, ſoon abſorbed, and drew into his own vortex, the whole buſineſs of the *police*, and the cognizance of all offences. See *Annals*, b. vi. f. 10 and 11. The ſenators and patricians, their wives and ſons, were cited to appear at the bar of the ſenate; but, in all caſes, it was competent to the perſon accuſed, to remove the cauſe before the prince himſelf, who either heard it in his cabinet, or referred it to the præfect of the city, or elſe to a board of ſpecial commiſſioners. Hence the prætorian dignity had little more than the mere ſhadow of authority. Boetius calls it an empty name, a mere incumbrance on the ſenatorian rank. *Inane nomen, et ſenatorii cenſus gravem ſarcinam. Conſol. Philoſoph.* lib. iii. As the prætors drew lots among themſelves, and each man took the province aſſigned to him by chance, we find that the hearing of civil cauſes, called JURISDICTIO, did not fall to the ſhare of Agricola. For the reſt, the præfect of the city, moſt probably, relieved him from the care of public offences. Hence nothing remained for him, during the whole year of his prætorſhip, but the exhibition of public ſpectacles, and the amuſement of the populace.

(*e*) Nero

(*e*) Nero was put to death, A. U. 821, of the Chriſtian æra 68. Galba ſucceeded, but reigned only a few months. Agricola was choſen for the due care of religion, and the protection of the public temples; but the plunder committed by Nero, about three years before his death, could not be redreſſed. The whole was diſſipated in wild profuſion. See *Annals*, b. xv. ſ. 45.

Section VII.

(*a*) This was the year of Rome 822, of Chriſt 69.

(*b*) INTEMELIUM was a municipal town in the country now called *Vintimiglia*, in the territory of Genoa. It was ſituated on the Mediterranean. The deſcent made by a band of adventurers from Otho's fleet, and the havoc and devaſtation committed by thoſe ferocious warriors, is deſcribed by Tacitus, *Hiſt.* b. ii. ſ. 12 and 13. Veſpaſian, it now began to be known, declared himſelf a candidate for the imperial dignity. The news reached Agricola ſome time in the month of July, in the above year, 822. *Hiſt.* b. ii. ſ. 79.

(*c*) Veſpaſian remained in Aſia and Ægypt, while his generals carried their victorious arms to the city of Rome, and proclaimed him emperor. His ſon Titus, in the mean time, carried on the ſiege of Jeruſalem. Domitian was at Rome, but too young to conduct the reins of government. Vice and debauchery were more ſuited to his genius. Mucianus, the confidential miniſter of Veſpaſian, arrived at Rome, and took upon him the whole conduct of the adminiſtration. He may be ſaid to have reigned with Veſpaſian. Antonius was the general who conquered for Veſpaſian, but Mucianus deprived him of his

laurels. See *Hiſtory*, b. iv; and ſee the character of Mucianus, *Hiſt.* b. ii. ſ. 5.

(*d*) The twentieth legion was, at that time, in Britain: and it is ſo expreſſed in the tranſlation, though the text is ſilent as to that particular. The Romans had three legions in this iſland, namely, II[a]. *Auguſta*; IX[a]. *Hiſpanienſis*; XX[a]. *Victrix*. The officer to whom Agricola ſucceeded, was *Roſcius Cælius*, a man of a reſtleſs, turbulent diſpoſition, malignant, envious, and always at variance with Trebellius Maximus, the commander in chief. The latter was a *conſular legat*, LEGATUS CONSULARIS: Cælius was a *prætorian legat*, LEGATUS PRÆTORIUS. The conſular legats were either generals of the army, or governors of provinces, and, for the moſt part, both at the ſame time. Wherever they were preſent, the prætorian legat had no higher truſt than the command of a legion. And yet Cælius, by exaſperating his general officer, and inflaming the minds of the ſoldiers, raiſed the diſſentions of the army to ſuch a pitch, that Trebellius Maximus was obliged to fly from his poſt, and to abandon the iſland. *Hiſt.* b. i. ſ. 60. Roſcius Cælius remained to enjoy his victory. He governed in a tumultuous manner, by violent meaſures aſſuming the ſupreme authority. His legion had been tardy in declaring for Veſpaſian, and the delay was imputed to the ſeditious ſpirit of the commander. Mucianus thought fit to recal him. Agricola went a ſecond time into Britain, and put himſelf at the head of the legion, which is ſuppoſed to have been at that time quartered at *Deva*, now *Cheſter*. An inſcription has been found in the following words: *Deva Leg.* XX. *Victrix*. See Camden's *Britannia*, p. 538.

Section

Section VIII.

(*a*) Vettius Bolanus was ſent by Vitellius to command in Britain, after the abdication of Trebellius Maximus. He had ſerved under Corbulo in Armenia, but, according to Tacitus, does not ſeem to have profited by the example of ſo great a maſter. Mediocrity was his element. And yet Statius, in a poem to Criſpinus, the ſon of Bolanus, lays out the whole force of his genius to celebrate the warlike atchievements of the father. He ſtuns us with a muſter-roll of his virtues, his exploits in the eaſt, and his trophies in Britain. Bolanus, he ſays, waged war on the banks of the Araxes, and fought to reduce Armenia to ſubjection under Nero. Corbulo, the commander in chief, admired the ardour of the young officer, and committed to his care the moſt difficult operations of the campaign.

——————————Ille juventam
Protinus ingrediens, pharetratum invaſit Araxem
Belliger, indocilemque fero ſervire Neroni
Armeniam. Rigidi ſummam Mavortis agebat
Corbulo, ſed comitem belli, ſociumque laborum,
Ille quoque egregiis multum miratus in armis,
Bolanum, atque illi curarum aſperrima ſuetus
Credere, partirique metus.

The poet proceeds to hold up to the ſon the great example of his father. Learn, he ſays, from him; you have a family-monitor to inſpire you with every virtue; let kindred praiſe excite you to heroic action. The Decii and the Camilli may be pointed out to others. It will be for you to keep your eye on your father; obſerve with what undaunted fortitude he advanced as far as Thulé amidſt ſtorms and tempeſts and the rigours of the winter.

Diſce,

Diſce, puer: nec enim externo monitore petendus
Virtutis tibi pulcher amor; cognata miniſtret.
Laus animos: aliis Decii reduceſque Camilli
Monſtrentur; tu diſce patrem, quantuſque nigrantem
Fluctibus occiduis, feſſoque Hyperione Thulen
Intrarit mandata gerens.
STATIUS, SYLV. lib. v. poem. ii.

Unfortunately for the bard, hiſtory is ſilent about all theſe great exploits; and when hiſtory, the intelligencer of antiquity, *nuntia vetuſtatis*, ſhews no foundation for this exaggerated praiſe, the poet muſt be ſuppoſed to have indulged a flight of fancy. Bolanus was recalled; and Cerealis, who conducted the war againſt Civilis the Batavian chief (See *Hiſt.* b. iv. ſ. 71), was ſent by Veſpaſian to command the legions in Britain, A. U. 823; A. D. 70. Agricola, we find, was ſtill ſerving in Britain.

Section IX.

(*a*) The ſenators were not, of courſe, of the patrician order, as appears, *Annals* xi. ſ. 25, where we ſee the emperor Claudius adding the oldeſt of the fathers to the liſt of patricians; the families of that rank, created by Romulus and by Brutus, and alſo thoſe advanced by Julius Cæſar and Auguſtus, being well nigh extinguiſhed. Veſpaſian exerciſed the ſame authority, and, under his patronage, Agricola roſe to the honours of the ſtate.

(*b*) The grand diviſions of Gaul have been mentioned in the Manners of the Germans, ſection i. note (*a*). To that account it may be proper to add, that a ſubdiviſion was made by Auguſtus, diſtributing the whole country into ſeven provinces; namely Narbonne Gaul, Aquitania, the province

province of Lugdunum, or Lyons, properly Celtic Gaul; Belgic Gaul, and Upper and Lower Germany. Theſe ſeveral diſtricts, except Narbonne Gaul, were under the immediate management of the prince. The province of Aquitania was incloſed by the Pyrenean mountains, the Rhone, the Loire, and the Atlantic Ocean.

(*c*) The governors of provinces adminiſtered juſtice not only to the army, but likewiſe to the inhabitants. In diſcharging the functions of his ſtation, Agricola took care to have no diſpute, no conteſt with ſubordinate officers. Seneca obſerves, to contend with your ſuperior, is a degree of phrenſy; with your equal, ſomething is hazarded; with your inferior, it is a degradation. *Cum ſuperiore contendere, furioſum; cum pari, anceps; cum inferiore, ſordidum.*

(*d*) In the year of Rome 830, and of the Chriſtian æra 77, Veſpaſian was conſul, eighth time, with his ſon Titus, the ſixth. On the kalends of July in that year, Brotier ſays, upon the authority of Muratori, *Annali d' Italia*, tom. i. p. 291, that Domitian and Agricola were appointed conſuls for the remainder of the year. This practice was firſt introduced by Auguſtus, under the plauſible pretence of having more frequent opportunities to oblige the illuſtrious families of Rome, but, in fact, to impair the dignity, and leſſen the power of the conſuls. The ſucceeding emperors adopted the ſame plan of policy; and the miſchief went on increaſing, till in the reign of Commodus there were no leſs than five-and-twenty conſuls in one year. During the whole time, the conſuls, who entered on their office in the beginning of January, gave their name to the whole year. Thoſe, who were made occaſionally, called CONSULES SUBROGATI, are ſeldom mentioned in the FASTI CONSULARES.

CONSULARES. Hence the difficulty of aſcertaining their exact time. Agricola, according to Tillemont, was conſul A. D. 77.

Section X.

(*a*) The writers, who before Tacitus's time had given a deſcription of Britain, were Julius Cæſar, Livy, the celebrated hiſtorian, and Fabius Ruſticus, the friend of Seneca, often quoted by Tacitus. His works have periſhed in the general wreck of ancient literature. Livy's account was in book cv. but we have nothing now remaining except the Epitome, not very well filled up by the Supplement of Freinſhemius. A ſlight knowledge of diſtant countries was ſufficient for the ancient geographers. They were never at a loſs for ſome form or ſhape, to which they compared the place in queſtion, and then conceived that they had given a true outline or draught of the country: but the accurate maps of modern geographers ſhew how much they were deceived. Pliny the elder informs us, that the original name was Albion, and Sir Willliam Temple gives the etymology of the word. Albion, he ſays, was derived from *Alpion*; *Alp*, in ſome of the weſtern languages, ſignifying high lands or hills, as this iſle appears to thoſe who approach it from the continent. In Cæſar's time, Britain was the general appellation. Sir William Temple derives the word from *Brith*, the paint with which the inhabitants gave an azure blue to their bodies and their ſhields. The Romans, he ſays, called the iſland *Britannia*, giving a Latin termination to a barbarous name, in the ſame manner as they did with regard to other countries that fell under their commerce or conqueſts; ſuch as Mauritania,

Mauritania, Aquitania, and other places commonly known. Camden thinks that Britannia was a compound word, from *Brith*, paint, and *Tania*, a term importing region or country. Cæsar's account of a triangular form may be admitted. Taking the whole length from Dover to the Land's End in Cornwall for one side of the triangle, the eastern and the western coasts contract by degrees, and, though not strictly reduced to a point at the northern extremity, it is there sufficiently narrow to justify Cæsar's comparison, and, according to Tacitus, to present the form of a wedge. It is true, that he calls it an island, but he seems to have had no better authority than the voice of fame. No navigator had, at that time, sailed round the island. The Greeks thought it a large continent. See *Univ. Hist.* vol. xix. p. 68.

(b) Cæsar says that the western side extends towards Spain, and that Ireland, about half as large as Britain, lies opposite to that coast. *Vergit ad Hispaniam, atque occidentem solem, quâ ex parte est Hibernia, dimidio minor, ut existimatur, quam Britannia. De Bell. Gall.* lib. v. s. 13. The part of Britain, long since called Scotland, was known to the Romans by the name of *Caledonia*, because, says Sir William Temple, the north-east part of Scotland was by the natives called Cal Dun, which signifies hills of hazel, with which it was covered; from whence the Romans gave it the name of *Caledonia*; thus forming an easy and pleasant sound out of what was harsh to such elegant tongues and ears as theirs.

(*c*) An account of this voyage round the island will be found in this Tract, s. 38. Then, for the first time, the Romans obtained geographical certainty.

(*d*) The

(*d*) The *Orcades* (now the *Orkney* Iſlands) were known by the report of fame in the reign of Claudius. Some hiſtorians have aſcribed the conqueſt to that emperor, but for this there does not ſeem to be ſufficient foundation. Flattery was in haſte to decorate the prince with laurels unearned. It is true that Pomponius Mela has ſaid that thoſe iſlands were thirty in number. *Triginta ſunt Orcades anguſtis inter ſe diductæ ſpatiis.* Mela, lib. iii. f. 6. Pliny likewiſe mentions them; but his account of the number ſhews that he relied on mere report. He ſays, there are FORTY iſlands, called the Orcades, all ſeparated by narrow ſtraits. *Sunt autem* xl. *Orcades modicis inter ſe diſcretæ ſpatiis.* Pliny, lib. iv. f. 16. Had Claudius added thoſe iſlands to the Roman empire, it is not probable that there would have been a variance, as to the number, among the authors of that day. Eutropius, and Euſebius in his Chronicle, are the authorities upon which Claudius muſt rely for his fame; but the ſilence of Tacitus is a ſtrong contradiction to thoſe writers.

(*e*) Much has been ſaid by the Greek and Roman poets of a place in the northern regions, called Thulé; but it is evident they did not all agree in the geographical deſcription. Camden is of opinion that the *Thulé* of Tacitus is one of the *Shetland* iſlands, which lie to the north of the Orcades, latit. 60. The ancient poets heard of *Thulé*, and made their own uſe of it, to adorn their verſe. To fix the exact ſpot was not their buſineſs. They were maſters of every northern latitude, and they could always command ice enough to build their mountains, and ſnow enough to cover them. From the hiſtorians and geographers more accuracy might be expected, but navigation was in its infancy. The Northern Ocean,

Ocean, as Tacitus has obſerved in the Manners of the Germans, always adverſe to mariners, was ſeldom viſited by ſhips from the Roman world. *Thulé* was, in general, underſtood to be the moſt remote land in the northern latitude, but the exact local ſituation was not aſcertained. Pliny the elder had all the information that diligence could collect, and he knew how to embelliſh what he heard with all the graces of elegant compoſition. But ſtill the Northern Ocean was unexplored. The German Sea, he ſays, is interſperſed with a number of iſlands, called GLESSARIÆ, and by the Greeks, ELECTRIDÆ, becauſe amber (*electrum*) is found there in conſiderable quantities. Of theſe iſlands, *Thulé* is the moſt diſtant; and there, at the ſummer ſolſtice, when the ſun is paſſing the tropic of Cancer, the inhabitants have no night; and, in like manner, during the winter they ſee no day, for the ſpace, as is generally ſuppoſed, of ſix months. *Ab adverſo in Germanicum mare ſparſæ Gleſſariæ, quas Electridas Græci recentiores appellavere, quod ibi electrum naſceretur. Ultima omnium, quæ memorantur, Thulé; in qua ſolſtitio nullas eſſe noctes indicavimus, Cancri ſignum ſole tranſeunte, nulloſque contra per brumam dies. Hoc quidem ſenis menſibus continuis fieri arbitrantur.* Pliny, lib. iv. ſ. 30. But it is evident that *Shetland* could not be the place intended by Pliny. A night or day of ſix months is known in more northern latitudes. Procopius, in his Hiſtory of the Gothic War, book ii. places Thulé in Norway, which was thought by the ancients to be an iſland. Agricola's fleet might ſee the coaſt of Norway at a diſtance, and, having heard of *Thulé*, might conclude that they had ſeen that region of eternal froſt and ſnow. This, or, according to the conjecture of Camden, Shetland, might be the

Thulé

Thulé of Tacitus. That of Pliny was, moſt probably, Iceland, eſpecially as he ſays it lay within one day's ſail from the Frozen Ocean. *A Thulé unius diei navigatione mare concretum, a nonnullis Cronium appellatur.* Lib. iv. ſ. 30. If Iceland was intended by Pliny, the accounts given by navigators muſt have been very imperfect, ſince he makes no mention of three volcanos, particularly Mount *Hecla*, which, amidſt a waſte of ſnow, conſtantly throws up columns of ſmoke and fire. See a Diſcourſe, *Sur la Navigation de Pythéas à Thulé*, *Memoirs of the Acad. of Belles Lettres*, vol. xxxvii. p. 436.

(*f*) From vague and uncertain accounts of the Frozen Ocean, the ancients might form their idea of a ſea in ſuch a thick and concrete ſtate, that the oars could hardly move, and the winds ſcarcely agitate, ſuch a ſluggiſh maſs of water. But the tranquillity of thoſe ſeas has been long known to be a mere fiction. It is, therefore, needleſs to examine the reaſons aſſigned by Tacitus, to account for a phænomenon which does not exiſt. See what is ſaid of this ſea, *Manners of the Germans*, ſ. 45. What is ſaid of the various inlets, through which the tide forces its way into the heart of the country, is ſufficiently warranted by the *Æſtuarium Bodotriæ* (the Firth of Forth), by the *Glota* (the Firth of Clyde), and other well known harbours, creeks, bays, and rivers of Scotland.

Section XI.

(*a*) Through the want of literary records, the hiſtory of barbarous nations is generally loſt in darkneſs. When the origin of a people could not be traced, the difficulty was ſurmounted, by ſuppoſing

ſuppoſing that the ſoil, by a certain fecundity in thoſe early ſeaſons of the world, produced the race of man. Mother earth, or MATER TELLUS, ſatisfied the enquiries of the moſt profound philoſophy. The ſons of the earth were called *indigenæ*, *aborigines*, or natives of the ſoil. Men were ſuppoſed to ſpring from the bowels of the earth, from the trunks of trees, and even from rocks. The poets were the philoſophers and hiſtorians of the age. Horace talks of the human race iſſuing out of the earth: *cum prorepſerunt primis animalia terris*; and Ovid gives them no other origin. But the age of darkneſs is paſt, and the reveries of ignorance have long ſince vaniſhed. We are now content to be deſcended from Adam, inſtead of reckoning rocks and caves for our progenitors. Tacitus judges by a better rule. From certain reſemblances of feature, language and manners; from the ſize of limb and colour of the hair, he concludes, not without probability, that this iſland was peopled from Germany, Spain, and Gaul. The government of the country was like that of Gaul, conſiſting of ſeveral nations under different petty princes. Cæſar reckons no leſs than four in Kent, book v. ſ. 22. The moſt conſiderable tribes, or nations (Caledonia not included), were the *Dumnonii*, in Devonſhire and Cornwall; the *Silures*, in Herefordſhire, Radnor, Brecknock, Monmouth, and Glamorgan; the *Ordovices*, in North Wales; the *Trinobantes*, in Middleſex and Eſſex; the *Cantii*, or people of Kent; the *Iceni*, in Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeſhire, and Huntingdonſhire; and the *Brigantes*, in Yorkſhire, Durham, Lancaſhire, Weſtmorland, and Cumberland.

(*b*) The *Caledonians*, and the etymology of the name, have been already mentioned, ſ. x. note (*a*).

(*c*) The Silures, as already ſtated, occupied Herefordſhire, Radnor, Brecknock, Monmouth, and Glamorganſhire. They may be called the inhabitants of South Wales. The Iberians were the firſt inhabitants of Spain, ſo called from the river *Iberus*, now the *Ebro*.

(*d*) Cæſar tells us that frequent migrations were made from Belgic Gaul into Britain; and that the adventurers, having gained poſſeſſion by force of arms, employed themſelves in cultivating the land, in a climate which they found more temperate than what they had known in Gaul. *Maritima pars ab iis, qui prædæ ac belli inferendi cauſâ ex Belgio tranſierunt, et bello illato ibi remanſerunt, atque agros colere cœperunt. Loca ſunt temperatiora quàm in Galliâ, remiſſioribus frigoribus.* Lib. v. ſ. 12. The continent, moſt undoubtedly, was peopled firſt, and the redundant numbers overflowed into the adjacent iſles.

(*e*) The Druids, according to Cæſar's account, believed in the tranſmigration of ſouls, and that doctrine they thought had a happy tendency to inſpire men with courage, and a contempt of death. They taught their pupils a ſyſtem of aſtronomy; they deſcribed the various revolutions of the planets, the dimeſions of the globe, the operations of nature; they talked with reverence of the immortal gods, and initiated their youth in all their myſteries. *In primis hoc volunt perſuadere, non interire animas, ſed ab aliis poſt mortem tranſire ad alios: atque hoc maximè ad virtutem excitari putant, metu mortis neglecto. Multa præterea de ſideribus, atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum naturâ, de deorum immortalium vi ac poteſtate diſputant;*

tant, et juventuti tradunt. De Bell. Gall. lib. vi. ſ. 13. Human ſacrifices, as obſerved in a former note, were part of their ſuperſtition. Living bodies were incloſed in large ozier cages, and conſumed in the flames. That the ſame rites and ceremonies were eſtabliſhed in Britain, there can be no doubt, ſince we are told by Cæſar, that the religious ſyſtem of Gaul was tranſplanted from Britain; and, even in his time, thoſe, who wiſhed to be perfectly ſkilled in the druidical doctrines, paſſed over into this iſland for inſtruction. *Diſciplina in Britanniâ reperta, atque inde in Galliam tranſlata eſſe exiſtimatur. Et nunc, qui diligentius eam rem cognoſcere volunt, plerumque illo, diſcendi cauſâ, proficiſcuntur. De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. ſ. 12. The late Mr. Hume has obſerved, "that no idolatrous worſhip ever attained ſuch an aſcendant over mankind as that of the ancient Gauls and Britons; and the Romans, after their conqueſt, finding it impoſſible to reconcile thoſe nations to the laws and inſtitutions of their maſters, were at laſt obliged to aboliſh the druidical ſyſtem by penal ſtatutes; a violence, which had never, in any other inſtance, been practiſed by thoſe tolerating conquerors." Hume's *Hiſt.* vol. i. p. 5. See Tacitus, *Annals*, book xiv. ſ. 30.

(f) This conformity of languages, Brotier ſays, ſtill ſubſiſts in ſome parts of Cornwall and of the ancient Armorica, now called Bretagne. It is ſaid, that a dialect of the Welch is but juſt extinct in Cornwall.

(g) Solinus, ſpeaking of the warlike Britons, ſays, when a woman is delivered of a male child, ſhe places the infant's firſt food on the point of her huſband's ſword, and inſerts it in the little one's mouth; and, offering up her ſupplications to the gods of her country, devoutly prays, that

he may die in war amidſt hoſtile ſwords and javelins. *Solinus*, chap. 22.

(*h*) The Britons were conquered, in the reign of Claudius, by Aulus Plautius, the firſt Roman general who landed on the iſland, ſince the invaſion of Julius Cæſar. Plautius defeated the natives, A. U. C. 796, A. D. 43. Several ſignal victories were afterwards obtained by Suetonius Paulinus, Petilius Cerealis, and other commanders, inſomuch that the ſouthern part of the iſland was reduced to a Roman province. The Caledonians ſtood for liberty, till their laſt deciſive action, under Galgacus (ſee from ſection xxx. to end of ſection xxxviii.), when they retired to their faſtneſſes in the Highlands.

Section XII.

(*a*) This manner of fighting in chariots calls to mind the practice of heroic times deſcribed in the battles of the Iliad. But the heroes of the poet differed, in their notion of the point of honour, from the Britiſh chiefs. With the Greeks and Trojans, the driver of the carriage was the ſecond in rank: the warrior of high renown was the perſon who fought. Hector had his 'ſquire to guide the reins, while he diſplayed his towering plume, and braved every danger. Achilles had his Automedon.

> Automedon and Alcimus prepare
> Th' immortal courſers and the radiant car.
> The charioteer then whirl'd the laſh around,
> And ſwift aſcended at one active bound;
> Then bright in heav'nly arms, above his 'ſquire
> Achilles mounts, and ſets the field on fire.
>
> POPE's Iliad, book xix. v. 426.

Virgil

Virgil in a beautiful picture repreſenting the wars of Troy, in the firſt Æneid, deſcribes the Trojans flying before Achilles, who purſues with ardour in his warlike car:

Hac Phryges, inſtaret curru criſtatus Achilles.

In the fifth Iliad Æneas invites Pandarus to join him in the fight:

Haſte, ſeize the whip, and ſnatch the guiding rein;
The warrior's fury let this arm ſuſtain;
Or, if to combat thy bold heart incline,
Take thou the ſpear, the chariot's care be mine.
POPE's Iliad, book v. verſe 284.

Among the Britons it was otherwiſe: the chief warrior drove the chariot, by Cæſar called *eſſedâ*, and by Tacitus *covinus:* ſee this Tract, ſ. xxxv. note *(b)*. The Britiſh chiefs, as it ſeems, thought it more honourable to drive the car into the thickeſt ranks of the enemy, and diſtinguiſh themſelves by braving every danger. It appears, likewiſe, that a number of combatants mounted together in the ſame vehicle, which was not the caſe in Homer's battles.

(b) We read in the Annals, b. xii. ſ. 36, of Caractacus, king of the Silures; in b. xiv. ſ. 31, of Praſutagus, king of the Iceni; and ſ. 35, of Boadicea, his widow, who ſucceeded to her huſband's dominions. For Cartiſmandua, queen of the Brigantes, who delivered up Caractacus to the Romans, ſee *Annals*, b. xii. ſ. 36, and *Hiſt.* b. iii. ſ. 45.

(*c*) The original ſays, *rarus duabus tribuſve civitatibus ad propulſandum commune periculum conventus*. This, tranſlated verbally, imports, *that a meeting is ſeldom had between two or three cities to repel the common danger*. But the word CIVITAS

TAS is rarely uſed by the Latin hiſtorians for what, in the modern acceptation, is called a city. CIVITAS generally implies a body politic, a people united in civil ſociety, under a ſettled conſtitution, and a regular frame of laws. Such were the Silures, under Caractacus; the Icenians, under Boadicea; the Brigantes, under Cartiſmandua: but there is no inſtance of their acting in concert for their mutual defence.

(*d*) Tacitus, in this place, may be ſaid to be out of his depth. His notions here, as well as in the paſſage concerning the Suiones in the Manners of the Germans, ſection xlv, hold more of the poet than the philoſopher. Aſtronomy and geography were ſciences not ſufficiently cultivated in his time. Pliny endeavours more rationally to account for the phænomenon, from the poſition of the ſun at the ſummer ſolſtice. In Italy, he ſays, the length of the day is fifteen hours, and in Britain ſeventeen; the nights in that iſland being ſo bright, that, when the ſun at the ſolſtice approaches ſo near the earth as to become vertical, the northern regions have, by conſequence, a day of ſix months, and in the winter a night of the ſame length. *In Italiâ quindecim horas; in Britanniâ ſeptemdecim; ubi æſtate lucidæ noctes, haud dubiè repromittunt id, quod cogit ratio credi, ſolſtitii diebus accedente ſole propius verticem mundi, ſubjecta terræ continuos dies habere ſenis menſibus, nocteſque e diverſo ad brumam remoto.* Pliny, lib. ii. ſ. 75. But long ſea voyages were rarely undertaken in Pliny's time, and it is, therefore, no wonder that he wanted due information. He mentions one bold navigator, Pytheas of Marſeilles, and, upon his authority, ſays that at Thulé, which lay ſix days ſail from the northern part of Britain, the day and night were each of them ſix months long.

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The ſame, he adds, was ſaid of the iſle of Mona, which was diſtant from Camelodunum *(Colcheſter)* about two hundred miles. *Quod fieri in inſulâ Thulé, Pytheas Maſſilienſis ſcripſit, ſex dierum navigatione in ſeptemtrionem a Britanniâ diſtante. Quidam vero et in Monâ quæ diſtat a Camelodunо, Britanniæ oppido, circiter ducentis millibus adfirmant.* Pliny, lib. ii. ſ. 75. If the Thulé of Pytheas was Greenland or Zembla, what is ſaid of the length of days and nights in thoſe iſlands may be admitted; but the ſame could not be the caſe in Britain, or any Britiſh iſland. The Orkneys lie in latitude 60, or thereabouts; and in the ſummer, their day is not much more than eighteen hours long. But neither Pliny, nor Tacitus, had a juſt idea of the figure of the earth, and the viciſſitudes of ſeaſons occaſioned by the annual motion round the ſun. The diſcovery was reſerved for the genius of Sir Iſaac Newton. Without being a voyager or traveller, that ſublime philoſopher founded his calculations on mathematical and ſcientific principles. As Fontenelle obſerves, he aſcertained the true figure of the earth without ſtirring out of his elbow-chair. The experiments of Maupertuis, and his aſſociates, who in the years 1735 and 1736 meaſured a degree in Lapland, ſerved to confirm Newton's doctrine; and, from that time, the length of days and nights in all parts of the globe has been ſcientifically known. Mathematicians have informed us, that the degrees of longitude are not, like thoſe of latitude, always equal, but diminiſh in proportion as the meridians contract in their approach to the Pole, as may be ſeen in the common tables, ſhewing the number of miles contained in a degree of longitude, in each parallel of latitude from the Equator to the Pole. In conſequence of this

knowledge, and the poſition of the earth in every part of its orbit, aſtronomers have laid down their tables of the various climates between the Equator and the extremity of the north. They have enumerated thirty climates; in the firſt twenty-four, which terminate between the latitudes 66 and 67, the days increaſe by half hours; and, in the remaining ſix, by months. At Spitzbergen, or Eaſt Greenland, the day laſts five months, and ſix at the Pole. Pomponius Mela talks of *Thule*, but he did not know where to place his iſland, ſo as to account for the length of days, which he has deſcribed. He ſays that *Thulé* lies oppoſite to the coaſt of the *Belgæ*, and there the nights are dark in winter, but at the ſummer ſolſtice there is no night at all. *Thulé Belgarum littori oppoſita eſt: in eâ noctes per hyemem obſcuræ; per ſolſtitium nullæ.* Lib. iii. cap. 6. But that length of days could only happen in the more northern latitudes. When Tacitus ſays, that the nights, at the extremity of Britain, are ſo luminous, that the interval between the cloſe and the return of day can ſcarce be diſtinguiſhed, this may, perhaps, be admitted, ſince Lord Mulgrave, in an accurate account of his Voyage to the Northern Seas, performed in the year 1773, ſays that on the 12th of June (latitude 56: 28) it was then light enough all night to read upon deck. On the 29th of the ſame month (latitude 77: 59) the adjacent coaſt, covered with ſnow and ice, would have ſuggeſted the idea of perpetual winter, had not the mildneſs of the weather, bright ſunſhine, and conſtant day-light, given a cheerfulneſs and novelty to the whole of that ſtriking and romantic ſcene. In the month of Auguſt (latitude 80, or thereabouts) his lordſhip obſerved, that, during the whole time of his being in thoſe latitudes, he never found (though

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Martin has ſaid otherwiſe) that the ſun at midnight in appearance reſembled the moon. His lordſhip adds, that he ſaw no difference, in clear weather, between the ſun at midnight and any other time, but what aroſe from a different degree of altitude; the brightneſs of the light appearing there, as well as elſewhere, to depend on the obliquity of his rays. See the *Voyage*, p. 71.

(e) When Tacitus endeavours to aſſign a reaſon for the ſhort interval between day and night, and ſays, *that the extreme and flat parts of the earth, caſting a low ſhadow, do not elevate the darkneſs, and night falls beneath the ſky and the ſtars*, it is impoſſible to ſtrike out any thing like ſenſe from a paſſage ſo very embarraſſed and obſcure. The reader is left to regret that a writer, of ſuch acute diſcernment on all political and moral ſubjects, ſhould be obliged, without any principles of aſtronomy and geography (a ſcience in that age little underſtood), to offer a vain hypotheſis for reaſon and ſound philoſophy, Tacitus, it ſhould ſeem, thought that the earth was one extenſive continued ſurface, and that night was occaſioned by the ſun's retiring behind high lands and mountains. The form of the globe, its rotation on its own axis, and the various poſitions in its annual orbit, are mathematical diſcoveries, which were not known to the Romans.

(f) Mines of gold and ſilver, ſufficient to reward the conqueror, were found in Mexico and Peru; but this iſland never produced a quantity to pay the invader for the deſtruction of the human ſpecies. Cicero ſays, in one of his letters, It is well known that not a ſingle grain of ſilver could be found in the iſland. *Illud cognitum eſt, neque argenti ſcrupulum eſſe ullum in illâ*

illâ insulâ. Attic. lib. iv. epist. 16. This, however, is contradicted by modern authorities. Camden mentions gold and silver mines in Cumberland, a mine of silver in Flintshire, and of gold in Scotland. See Camden's *Britannia*, p. 692 and 741. The same author, talking of the copper mines in Cumberland, says, that veins of gold and silver were found intermixed with the common ore, and in the reign of Elizabeth, gave birth to a suit at law between the Earl of Northumberland and another claimant. Doctor Borlase, in his *History of Cornwall*, p. 214. relates, "that so late as the year 1753, several pieces of gold were found in what the miners call *stream tin*; and silver is now got in considerable quantity from several of our lead mines." A curious paper concerning the *gold mines of Scotland* is given by Mr. Pennant in Append. No. X. to his second part of *A Tour in Scotland in* 1772. But still there never was gold and silver enough to be the price of victory. The other metals, such as iron, lead, tin, and copper, are found in abundance at this day.

(g) Suetonius imputes Cæsar's invasion of Britain to his desire of enriching himself with the pearl found on different parts of the coast. *Britanniam petiisse spe margaritarum. In Jul. Cæs.* f. 47. Pliny says, it is certain that pearls of an inferior size, and rather discoloured, are produced in Britain; since the Deified Julius wished it to be understood, that the breast-plate which he dedicated to Venus, in the temple of the goddess, was composed of British pearl. *In Britanniâ parvos atque decolores (uniones) nasci certum est, quoniam Divus Julius thoracem, quem Veneri genitrici in templo ejus dicavit, ex Britannicis margaritis factum voluerit intelligi.* Plin. lib. ix. f. 35. The pearls most in request with

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the ancients were thoſe collected in the Red Sea, the Gulf of Perſia, and the Indian Ocean; the next in value were the Britiſh, tinged on the ſurface with a colour reſembling gold, but, in general, of a dark hue, and leſs tranſparent than the Indian. Camden talks of pearl found in *Caernarvon*, in *Cumberland*, and the Britiſh Sea. See his *Britannia*, p. 597, 690, and 752. Mr. Pennant, in his Tour in Scotland, 1769, mentions a conſiderable pearl fiſhery out of the freſh water muſcle in the vicinity of Perth, from whence 10,000l. worth was ſent to London from 1761 to 1769. But when that ingenious traveller viſited Scotland, the fiſhery was almoſt exhauſted. There is a paſſage in Pliny that ſhews the eſteem in which the Oriental pearl was held at Rome. Pearls, he ſays, are imported in ſuch quantities from the Arabian Sea, that Rome was annually drained of an immoderate ſum by the inhabitants of the Eaſt and the peninſula of India. So much do our finery and our women coſt us annually! *Verum Arabiæ etiamnum felicius mare eſt: ex illo namque margaritas mittit; minimâque computatione millies centena ſeſtertia annis omnibus India et Seres, peninſulaque illa imperio noſtro adimunt. Tanto nobis deliciæ et feminæ conſtant!* Pliny, lib. xii. ſ. 18. This proves what Tacitus ſays: When ſo much encouragement was given, the avarice of Britiſh merchants would not be deficient. Their pearl, therefore, was of an inferior ſort.

Section XIII.

(*a*) Tacitus now proceeds to relate the progreſs of the Roman arms in Britain, from the firſt invaſion of the iſland by Julius Cæſar to the time

time when Agricola became commander in chief. This, and the preceding account, may by ſome be called a digreſſion: but, ſince Agricola ſubdued the whole iſland, a deſcription of the country and the inhabitants is a proper introduction to ſo bright a career of glory. Julius Cæſar, it is well known, made two attempts upon this iſland; the firſt A. U. C. 699, and the ſecond in the following year. The plans which his ambition had formed againſt his own country, did not leave him at leiſure to enlarge the Roman empire. After ſome ſlight ſucceſs, he ſeems to have been glad to withdraw his forces. There is ſome truth in what Lucan has ſaid: He ſhewed his back to the enemy whom he fought;

Territa quæſitis oſtendit terga Britannis.

(*b*) The moderation or prudence which took place in the councils of Auguſtus is well known. Content with receiving ſome petty annual tributes from Britain, that emperor did not chooſe to involve himſelf in remote and dangerous wars. It was with him a maxim, that the boundaries of the empire ought not to be enlarged; and in his will, which after his death was read in the ſenate, he gave that advice to his ſucceſſors. See *Annals*, b. i. ſ. 11. Auguſtus, ſays the late Mr. Hume, content with the victory obtained over the liberties of his own country, was little ambitious of acquiring fame by foreign wars; and being apprehenſive leſt the ſame unlimited extent of dominion which had ſubverted the republic might alſo overwhelm the empire, he recommended it to his ſucceſſors never to enlarge the territories of the Romans. Tiberius, jealous of the fame which might be acquired by his generals, made this advice of Auguſtus a pretence

pretence for his inactivity. Hume's *Hiſt.* vol. i. p. 6. See *Annals*, b. i. ſ. 77.

(*c*) Caligula's threatened invaſion of Britain ended in an idle and vain parade. Hiſtory has no ſcene of folly to compare with it. The German expedition preſented a farce to the world, in which the emperor expoſed himſelf to deriſion. His mock triumph over the Britons was a ſequel to the former frolic, but ſtill more abſurd and ridiculous. Having written to the ſenate, to reprimand them for enjoying the pleaſures of the circus, while their emperor was expoſing himſelf to the greateſt dangers, he drew up his army on the coaſt of *Geſoriacum* (now *Boulogne*); and having, with great parade, diſpoſed his *balliſtæ* and other warlike engines, he ordered his ſoldiers to gather the ſea-ſhells, and fill their helmets and the ſkirts of their clothes. Theſe, he ſaid, were the ſpoils of the ocean, fit to be depoſited in the capitol. In memory of this ſignal victory, he erected a tower, to ſerve as a light-houſe for mariners, and by letters to Rome ordered preparations to be made for his triumphal entry, with ſpecial directions that it ſhould exceed in magnificence every thing of the kind. The fathers refuſed to comply, and for their diſobedience all were devoted to deſtruction: but before his bloody purpoſe could be executed, a conſpiracy was formed early in the following year, and Caligula was put to death, A. U. C. 794; A. D. 41. See Suetonius, *Life of Caligula*, ſ. 46, 47.

(*d*) The Britons, unmoleſted by the Romans, had enjoyed their liberty near a century, when, in the reign of Claudius, the project of ſubduing the iſland was concerted. The moſt ſtupid of the emperors was deſtined to be the conqueror of Britain. A powerful army was ſent from Gaul, under the command of able officers. Veſpaſian

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was one of the number; and upon that occaſion that officer, as Tacitus expreſſes it, *ſhewed himſelf to the Fates*. The ſouthern parts of the iſland being ſoon reduced, Claudius reſolved to viſit his new dominions. He took poſſeſſion of Camelodunum *(Colcheſter)*, received the ſubmiſſion of ſeveral petty kings, and in leſs than ſix months returned to Rome, to enjoy the ſplendour of a triumph, with the additional title of BRITANNICUS. Suetonius, *Life of Claudius*, ſ. 17.

Section XIV.

(*a*) Aulus Plautius was commander in chief of the army ſent by Claudius to the invaſion of Britain, A. U. C. 796; A. D. 43.

(*b*) An account of Oſtorius Scapula and the brilliant ſucceſs of his arms, is given by Tacitus, *Annals*, b. xii. ſ. 31 to 39. He ſent Caractacus a priſoner to Rome, A. U. C. 803. From that time he went on in a career of victory for ſeveral months; when, in the midſt of a war with the Silures, he died worn out with care and fatigue. Camden ſays, that in the pariſh of *Dinder*, near Hereford, the traces of a Roman camp are ſtill to be ſeen, called OYSTER-HILL, and he ſuppoſes the name to be derived from Oſtorius, the Roman General. Gibſon's *Camden*, p. 580.

(*c*) The Romans had the precaution to eſtabliſh a ſtrong poſt, well garriſoned by a body of veterans. This was at *Camulodum*, in the territory of the Trinobantes, now the county of Eſſex. *Camulodum*, according to Camden, was the town of Malden: Baxter and other antiquarians fix it at Colcheſter, and that opinion is adopted by moſt of the commentators.

(*d*) We read in the Annals, that, as ſoon as the death of Oſtorius Scapula was known at Rome,

Rome, Claudius ſent Aulus Didius to ſucceed to the command. That officer was involved in a war, in favour of Cartiſmandua againſt Venuſius, her repudiated huſband; and, though age and infirmity rendered him inactive, he was enabled by his officers to quell the inſurrection. See *Annals*, b. xii. f. 40. In this Tract he is called Didius Gallus: perhaps his name was Aulus Didius Gallus.

(*e*) Veranius was conſul A. U. C. 802. *Annals*, b. xii. f. 5.

(*f*) Suetonius Paulinus has been already mentioned; ſee this Tract, ſection v. note (*a*); ſee alſo *Annals*, b. xiv. f. 29. *Hiſt.* b. i. f. 87. *Hiſt.* b. ii. f. 23, 32, 60.

(*g*) It is unneceſſary to repeat that MONA is the iſle of *Angleſey*. The channel, that ſeparates it from Caernarvon, is ſo narrow, that Edward I. attempted to throw a bridge over it. It was the aſylum of the Druids, and the capital of their religious rites. Suetonius attacked this place, deſtroyed their altars, and their ſacred groves, where they ſacrificed human victims. See *Annals*, b. xiv. f. 29 to 40. It may be neceſſary to obſerve, that the Mona of Cæſar and Tacitus ought not to be confounded. That of Cæſar is *the Iſle of Man*, b. v. f. 13. Pliny calls it *Monapia*, b. iv. f. 16. Tacitus always means the iſle of Angleſey. Hume obſerves, that Suetonius, having deſtroyed the Druids, with their conſecrated groves, and triumphed over the religion of the Britons, thought his future progreſs would be eaſy in reducing the people to ſubjection. Hume, *Hiſt.* vol. i. p. 8. But Paulinus could not ſtay to make himſelf maſter of the iſland. He was recalled by the revolt under the conduct of Boadicea. The final reduction of the iſle was reſerved for Agricola. See this Tract, f. 18.

Section

Section XV.

(*a*) The general revolt of the Britons, and the maſſacre of the Romans, that followed in conſequence of the diſcontents here painted forth in the ſtrongeſt colours, are related at large in the *Annals*, b. xiv. ſ. 31 to 38.

(*b*) Inſtead of their own kings, whoſe power does not appear to have been ſufficiently limited, the Britons now groaned under the oppreſſion of two maſters; namely, the governor of the province, and the emperor's procurator. Dio Caſſius ſtates thoſe two cauſes of the inſurrection, and adds, as a further incentive, the avarice of Seneca. That philoſopher, he ſays, was a well-practiſed money-lender, and, being perfectly verſed in all the arts of uſury, laid out a large ſum at exorbitant intereſt among the natives of Britain. As faſt as his money became due, he haraſſed the province with ſuch unrelenting cruelty, that the diſtreſſed inhabitants were fired with indignation. Such is the account of an hiſtorian; but an hiſtorian with reaſon ſuſpected of harbouring ſecret malignity to the moſt illuſtrious characters in Rome.

(*c*) An alluſion to the fate of Varus and his legions, which happened in the fortieth year of Auguſtus, A. U. C. 762; A. D. 9. See *Manners of the Germans*, ſ. 37, note (*d*). *Annals*, b. i. ſections 58, 61, and 62.

(*d*) Paulinus was then employed in the iſle of Angleſey.

Section XVI.

(*a*) Boadicea was the daughter of Praſutagus, king of the Iceni ans: ſhe ſucceeded to her father's

ther's dominions, and, being ignominiouſly treated by the Romans, headed the revolt, and in the field of action diſtinguiſhed herſelf by her martial ſpirit. *Annals*, b. xiv. The reader, on this occaſion, will not forget the late Mr. Glover's excellent tragedy, entitled Boadicea; a piece written in the true ſtyle of dramatic poetry; without the luſcious ſweetneſs of Rowe; yet elegant, ſtrong, and vigorous. If the laſt act had been conſtructed with art, ſo as to raiſe expectation, and produce an unforeſeen cataſtrophe, the play would ſtill retain its place in the theatre, inferior to Shakeſpear only.

(*b*) On the firſt intelligence of the revolt, and the dreadful ſlaughter that followed, Suetonius Paulinus abandoned the iſle of Angleſey, and ſhewed at once his conduct and his valour. See *Annals*, b. xiv. ſ. 31 to 38.

(*c*) Petronius Turpilianus ſucceeded to the government of Britain, A. U. C. 814, having juſt then cloſed the year of his conſulſhip. Tacitus informs us, that Suetonius, having loſt a few ſhips on the coaſt in a gale of wind, was, under that pretence, recalled by order of Nero. Turpilianus undertook no warlike enterpriſe, content to varniſh his own inactivity with the name of peace. *Annals*, b. xiv. ſ. 39.

(*d*) The account of Trebellius Maximus, given by Tacitus in his Hiſtory, differs a little from what is related in the paſſage before us. Being at variance with Roſcius Cælius, an officer of a turbulent ſpirit, he was obliged to fly to Vitellius for protection, A. U. C. 822, A. D. 69. *Hiſt.* b. i. ſ. 60.

(*e*) Tacitus informs us that Trebellius Maximus was not graciouſly received by Vitellius, who was then on his way from Lyons into Italy. Vettius Bolanus, a follower in the train of Vitellius, was appointed

appointed governor of Britain, A. U. C. 822. *Hiſt.* b. ii. ſ. 65. We are told in this Tract, ſ. 8, that Agricola ſerved in Britain under Bolanus, but repreſſed his military ardour, leſt he ſhould appear deſirous of riſing ſuperior to his general. In the paſſage before us, Bolanus ſeems to have paſſed his time in indolence; inactive againſt the enemy, and without authority in his camp. The adulation of Statius, cited in note (*a*) ſect. 8, muſt, therefore, appear the more ſurpriſing. It is among the many inſtances, which ſhew that poets excel moſt in fiction. There is ſtill another paſſage in the poem already quoted, which leaves all truth at a diſtance. The poem is addreſſed to the ſon of Bolanus: the author aſks him, "What a ſcene of glory will be found in Caledonia, when an old inhabitant of that ferocious iſland tells you, here your father gave his commands; on yonder turf he harangued the legions! Do you ſee thoſe watch-towers, and thoſe ſtrong built forts? Your father erected them, and drew theſe lines of circumvallation. Thoſe trophies and thoſe darts were by him dedicated to the god of war. The inſcriptions are ſtill legible. Behold this breaſt-plate: your father ſeized it from a Britiſh king."

> Quanta Caledonios attollet gloria campos!
> Cum tibi longævus referet trucis incola terræ,
> Hic ſuetus dare jura parens; hoc ceſpite turmas
> Affari: nitidas ſpeculas, caſtellaque longe
> Aſpicis? Ille dedit, cinxitque hæc mœnia foſſâ:
> Belligeris hæc dona deis, hæc tela dicavit.
> Cernis adhuc titulos; hunc ipſe vacantibus armis
> Induit; hunc regi rapuit thoraca Britanno.
>
> STATIUS, SYLV. lib. v. 142.

When we find from hiſtory, that not one word of all this is true, we have only to regret, that a fine poet was obliged to proſtitute his pen. Sta-

tius gave public recitals of his poems for profit. Juvenal ſays,

> Haud tamen invideas vati, quem pulpita paſcunt.
> JUVENAL, ſat. v.

Section XVII.

(*a*) Petilius Cerealis ſerved, at firſt, in Britain, under Suetonius Paulinus, *Annals*, b. xiv. ſ. 32. He fought afterwards on the ſide of Veſpaſian againſt Vitellius, *Hiſt.* iii. ſ. 59. He alſo commanded the legions in the Lower Germany, and, after his victory over Civilis, the Batavian chieftain, was ſent by Veſpaſian to conduct the affairs of Britain, A. U. C. 823, A. D. 70.

(*b*) The Brigantes, as mentioned in a former note, inhabited the counties of York, Durham, Cumberland, Weſtmorland, and Lancaſhire.

(*c*) Julius Frontinus had the chief command in Britain, A. U. C. 826. His treatiſes of *Stratagems* in four books, and another concerning the aqueducts of Rome, are ſaid by *Brotier* and *La Bletterie*, to be ſtill extant. He was one of the moſt eminent men of the age in which he lived; a lawyer of profound knowledge; a ſoldier formed both by theory and experience; and, above all, a man not more diſtinguiſhed by his talents than his virtues. He died in the reign of Veſpaſian; and Pliny the conſul ſays, he deſired, by his laſt directions, that no monument ſhould be raiſed to his memory, becauſe, he ſaid, it is a ſuperfluous expence. Men will remember me, if by my conduct in life I have deſerved it. *Impenſa monumenti ſupervacua eſt. Memoria noſtri durabit, ſi vitâ meruimus.* Pliny, lib. ix. epiſt. 19.

(*d*) The ſubjugation of the Silures, a fierce and obſtinate enemy, gave the Romans quiet poſſeſſi-

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on of the ſouth of Britain. It will not be improper, in this place, to ſtate in one view, and in regular ſucceſſion, the ſeveral generals who commanded in Britain, from the firſt enterpriſe of Claudius, to the arrival of Agricola, who had the glory of ſubduing this iſland.

		A. U. C.
1.	Aulus Plautius, ſent by Claudius	796
2.	Oſtorius Scapula, ſent by Claudius	803
3.	Aulus Didius, by Claudius -	804
4.	Quintus Veranius, by Claudius	805
5.	Suetonius Paulinus, by Nero -	814
6.	Petronius Turpilianus, by Nero	815
7.	Trebellius Maximus, by Nero	816
8.	Vettius Bolanus, by Vitellius -	822
9.	Petilius Cerealis, by Veſpaſian -	824
10.	Julius Frontinus, by Veſpaſian -	826
11.	Cnæus Julius Agricola, by Veſpaſian	831

Section XVIII.

(*a*) Our author hitherto, like a ſkilful biographer, has laid himſelf out to prepare the theatre of war, in which Agricola was to make ſo conſpicuous a figure. His introduction is intimately connected with the enſuing narrative. From this place Agricola becomes the grand object of attention. He arrived in Britain in the ſummer, A. U. C. 831, A. D. 78.

(*b*) The Ordovices inhabited the counties of Flint, Denbigh, Caernarvon, Merioneth, and Montgomery, in North Wales.

(*c*) Suetonius Paulinus had conquered Angleſea; but the inſurrection of the Britons, under Boadicea, did not leave him time to ſecure poſſeſſion. As Agricola learned his firſt rudiments

of war under that commander, he was, probably, engaged in the firſt invaſion of the iſland. Having entirely ſubdued the Ordovicians, he formed a reſolution to retake the place, which had been ſnatched out of the conqueror's hands. Mr. Pennant mentions a paſs into the vale of Clwyd, in the pariſh of Llanarmon, which, he ſays, is ſtill called *Bwlch Agrikle*, probably from having been occupied by Agricola in his way to the iſle of Mona. The invaſion by Suetonius was ſeventeen years before the final reduction of the place under the conduct of Agricola.

(d) The elder Pliny calls the laurel the meſſenger of joy and victory, being always affixed by the Roman generals to their letters of diſpatch after ſucceſs againſt the enemy, and alſo to the ſpears and javelins of the ſoldiers. *Laurus Romanis præcipuè lætitiæ victoriarumque nuntia additur literis, et militum lanceis piliſque.* Pliny, lib. xv. ſ. 30. Perſius, the ſatiriſt, meaning to ſneer at Caligula's mock triumph over the Germans, informs us that the emperor ſent an account of his pretended victory in a laurelled letter.

> O bone, num ignoras? Miſſa eſt a Cæſare laurus
> Inſignem ob cladem Germanæ pubis.
>
> PERSIUS, ſat. vi. ſ. 43.

Section XIX.

(a) Suetonius gives a ſimilar account of Julius Cæſar. That great commander neither took notice of all the faults committed by his ſoldiers, nor proportioned the puniſhment to the nature of every offence. Deſertion and mutiny were objects of his ſtrict enquiry, and were ſure to meet condign puniſhment. In other caſes, he

choſe rather to connive, than know too much. *Delicta neque obſervabat omnia, neque pro modo exequebatur: ſed deſertorum et ſeditioſorum et inquiſitor et punitor acerrimus, connivebat in cæteris.* Suet. *in Jul. Cæſ.* ſ. 67.

(*b*) Brotier reads *frumenti et tributorum auctionem*, and underſtands an *increaſe of tributes*. Other editions have *exactionem*, meaning the ſeverity with which they were exacted. It may be doubted whether the word *auctio* is ever uſed by the Latin writers for augmentation. In general it implies what is underſtood at preſent by an auction, and ſo the word is uſed by Juvenal; *commiſſa quod auctio vendit.* Some of the manuſcripts in the Vatican are ſaid to have *exactionem*, and that ſenſe has been adopted in the tranſlation.

(*c*) La Bletterie has a note which throws great light on this whole paſſage, relative to the tributes and the collectors. In the firſt place, each province paid to the Romans a tribute of corn, which, in general, was paid in kind. In thoſe provinces which had voluntarily ſubmitted to the dominion of Rome, the farmer delivered the tenth part of his crop. This was what in modern phraſe is called *tythe corn*, *frumentum decumanum.* Secondly, in the conquered provinces, ſuch as Britain, the Romans exacted a groſs quantity, fixing the buſhel at a ſtated rate. This was called *frumentum ſtipendiarium.* Thirdly, beſides thoſe two modes of collecting, it was further expected that the inhabitants of the ſeveral provinces ſhould furniſh, at a ſettled price, whatever was required for the uſe of government: this was called purchaſed corn, *frumentum emptum.* Fourthly, the provinces were further charged with a ſupply for the uſe of the pro-conſul, or governor; but the price was arbitrary, at the will and pleaſure of the governor himſelf.

himſelf. This was not always paid in kind. A compoſition was made in money, and this was called corn at a valuation, *frumentum æſtimatum.* Some of the provinces belonged immediately to the emperor; others were conſidered as the property of the ſtate, and were, therefore, left to the management of the ſenate. In the imperial provinces, the tribute was carried to the fiſcus, or the exchequer of the emperor; in the ſenatorian provinces, the levies belonged to the public, and were carried into the *ærarium*, the treaſury of the ſenate. In the various modes of collecting the ſeveral impoſts, groſs abuſes were often practiſed. As ſoon as the farmer carried in his crop, the revenue officers locked up his granary, and, till the tribute was diſcharged, allowed him no acceſs to his own ſtock. He wiſhed to have the buſineſs finally adjuſted, but the collector was not at leiſure. The farmer languiſhed at the door of his barn, pining for the uſe of his property; but that liberty was not granted, till with money, or an additional quantity of corn, he was obliged to bribe the officer in order to get the account ſettled. In this manner he bought his own, and was afterwards compelled, at the requiſition of the governor, to ſell it at an inferior price. There was ſtill another grievance: the farmer, who lived at a diſtance from the quarters of the legions, was ordered to bring in his corn for the uſe of the army, and to deliver it on the ſpot aſſigned. The length of way, and the expence of the conveyance, obliged the natives to compound with the officers, who had the iniquity to enrich themſelves by this mode of plunder. Whoever has a mind to ſee the exactions practiſed by the collectors of the Roman revenue, will find them ſtated at large in Cicero's third oration againſt Verres. We there read of an edict whereby it was ordered, that no man ſhould carry his corn

to the granary, till he had made his agreement with the collector. The conſequence was, that the officer preſcribed his own terms; and the impatience of the farmer was ſure to ſubmit. *Exoritur peculiare edictum repentinum, ne quis frumentum de areâ tolleret antea, quam cùm decumano pactus eſſet. Satis hæc magna vis ad inique paciſcendum: malo enim plus dare, quam non mature ex areâ tollere. In Verrem*, lib. iii. num. 36, 37. To ſtate all the iniquities of the officers would lead to a great length. They are painted forth in glaring colours by the Roman orator; and if the collectors in Tacitus' time did not improve upon the example left by Verres, there can be no doubt but they practiſed all the iniquities of that notorious plunderer.

Section XX.

(*a*) This was the ſecond ſummer after Agricola arrived in Britain, A. U. C. 832, A. D. 79. Veſpaſian died this year on the 24th of June: Agricola, from that time, continued to command in Britain during the reign of Titus.

(*b*) Many veſtiges of Roman camps are ſtill to be ſeen in various parts of England. Two, which were probably raiſed by Agricola, will be mentioned in the next note.

(*c*) Agricola, as appears from all circumſtances, marched his army from Angleſea, which had ſurrendered to his arms, through North Wales, on his way to Caledonia. Tacitus does not directly ſay what road he purſued. This, however, is made ſufficiently clear by Gordon in his *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, or his Journey through moſt parts of Scotland. He ſhews, in the firſt place, that the march in the ſecond ſummer was as far

as

as the Firth of Edinburgh, as it correſponds with his penetrating as far as the *Tay* in the third campaign. This is rendered ſtill more evident by the æſtuaries, or wide mouths of rivers, at the flood reſembling arms of the ſea, which Agricola paſſed after ſounding the fordable places. Thoſe firths, Gordon obſerves, muſt be the *Dee* near Cheſter, the arm of the ſea near Liverpool, *Ribble*, and the *Solloway Firth*, there being no other firths between *Angleſea* and *Scotland*. Gordon produces another reaſon to prove that the march was on the weſtern ſide of England, namely the encampments, the veſtiges of which are ſtill to be ſeen in the county of Annandale, and the neighbouring counties; the firſt at a place called *Burnſwork Hill*, near the road from *Carliſle* to *Moffat*; the ſecond, about a quarter of a mile from the kirk of *Middleby*, on the duke of Queenſbury's eſtate. Theſe two camps are accurately deſcribed by Gordon; and from all theſe veſtiges of Roman works he infers, that Agricola's march was through the valley of *Dumfries*, every other road being impracticable for an army. The reader is referred to Gordon's elaborate argument, which he will find in the Itinerary, chap. ii. That learned antiquarian has the merit of explaining what the laconic manner of Tacitus has left in ſome obſcurity. His judicious obſervations will ſhew that the march of the Roman army was through *Lancaſhire*, *Weſtmorland*, and *Cumberland*, into *Annandale* in Scotland, and thence as far as *Edinburgh*; and that the whole country, as far as the iſthmus between the firths of *Forth* and *Clyde*, was awed and held in check, during the following winter, by the victorious arms of a general, who made ſuch a rapid progreſs, and diſpoſed his forts and garriſons with ſo much judgment, that the enemy found them impregnable.

impregnable. Gordon assures us, that on the neck of land which separates the Forth and the Clyde, there are more remains of Roman works than in any other part of Scotland.

Section XXI.

(*a*) Gordon, in his Itinerary, has described the remaining vestiges of a number of forts on the isthmus between the Forth and the Clyde, and also of a town, called COMELON, which, he says, is evidently a Roman work; the ruins of ancient houses are still to be seen. His third chapter is an elaborate dissertation on a Roman temple, now called Arthur's Oon, or Oven, near the Forth; which, he contends, was built by Agricola, during the winter after his second campaign in Scotland. Hector Boethius is of opinion, that this round edifice was built by Vespasian, when he served in Britain; and that Aulus Plautius died in the town of *Comelon* in Scotland, which he calls *Camelodunum*. Buchanan explodes this opinion, and, upon the best conjecture he could form, concludes, that *Arthur's Oon* was a structure dedicated to the god *Terminus*. But the conjectures of antiquarians, often ingenious, are too often uncertain. It must, however, be said, amidst this clash of opinions, that Gordon seems to have probability on his side, especially as we find in Tacitus, that Agricola, to allure the people from their barbarous manners, taught them to build houses, where they might begin to taste the pleasures of civilisation. The state of man in savage life, and the policy of softening the uncultivated mind by the introduction of liberal arts, is finely touched by Cicero in his oration for Sextius; and Plutarch says,

ſays, that the glory of Alexander did not conſiſt in a number of camels loaded with gold: he either perſuaded or compelled the ſavage tribes of Aſia to unite in ſociety, and live under the protection of laws; that was his true glory; and thoſe who eſcaped his conquering ſword, were not ſo happy as the vanquiſhed. There was nothing to reclaim the former from barbarity; and the latter, even againſt their will, were tamed and poliſhed.

(*b*) La Bletterie, in his note on this paſſage, is alarmed for the honour of his country. He doubts whether Agricola was a competent judge; in all events he appeals from the ſentence. He wiſhes, however, that the palm of genius may be contended for by both nations; and that the rivalſhip between them, which has produced tragic events and ſcenes of blood, may, for the future, be changed into a literary conteſt, to enlighten the reſt of Europe with ſound philoſophy, not with vain metaphyſics, which, under the ſpecious pretence of thinking profoundly, tend to nothing but the ſubverſion of government and religion. La Bletterie does not diſguiſe his national partiality: he will have it that learning paſſed from France into this country. In ſupport of his poſition, he quotes the threadbare verſe:

Gallia cauſidicos docuit facunda Britannos.

Brotier is above the littleneſs of national prejudice. He ſays, it is wonderful that Agricola, in rude and ſavage times, ſhould be able to foretel the genius of a country, which has ſince produced Bacon, Milton, and Newton, not to mention others of great and illuſtrious talents.

Section

Section XXII.

(*a*) Agricola's third year was A. U. C. 833; A. D. 80.

(*b*) The river *Tay* iſſues out of *Loch-Tay* in *Breadalbin*, and running ſouth-eaſt, paſſes the town of Perth, and falls into the German ocean at Dundee, where it is called the Firth of Tay. Agricola's conqueſts were, of courſe, in Fife-ſhire and in Perth-ſhire.

(*c*) The principal fort built by Agricola was at Ardoch in Perthſhire, ſituated ſo as to command the entrances into two valleys, *Strathallan* and *Strathearn*. A deſcription and plan of its remains, ſtill in good preſervation, are given by Mr. Pennant in his *Tour in Scotland*, 1772, part ii. p. 101. This fort, commanding two extenſives valleys, ſeems to prove what Tacitus ſays, viz. that no general ſhewed greater ſkill in the choice of advantageous ſituations.

Section XXIII.

(*a*) Agricola's fourth campaign was A. U. C. 834; A. D. 81. Titus died this year, on the thirteenth of September, in the forty-firſt year of his age; having merited, in a ſhort reign of little more than two years, the love of the Roman people, and the applauſe of poſterity. From the death of that lamented emperor, Agricola *was fallen on evil days*. He ſtill purſued his conqueſts in Britain; but his virtues and his fame in arms rendered him obnoxious to the jealouſy of Domitian, who beheld riſing merit with a malignant eye.

(*b*) *Glota*

(*b*) *Glota* or *Clota*, and *Bodotria*, were the names given by Ptolemy to thoſe famous æſtuaries, or arms of the ſea. The *Clota* is now called the Clyde, which riſes in *Annandale*, and, after a wide circuit, falls into the gulf of Dumbarton, on the weſtern ſide of Scotland, oppoſite to the iſle of Bute. The *Bodotria* of Ptolemy is the river Forth, which riſes in *Monteith*, and, after deſcribing a number of beautiful meanders, diſcharges itſelf, near Edinburgh, into an arm of the German Sea, called the *Firth of Forth.*

(*c*) The ſpace between the Firth of Forth and the Clyde is not more than thirty miles over. Gordon's Itinerary gives a deſcription of the ruins of a number of forts in a regular chain within a ſmall diſtance from each other, beginning at Dumbarton, and thence eaſtward to Arthur's Oven near the Firth of Forth. See the *Itinerary*, p. 20, 21.

(d) By means of theſe well-ſituated and well-guarded ſtations, the Caledonians were confined, in that northern part of the iſland, as it were in a peninſula. On the ſame neck of land, Lollius Urbicus, governor of Britain in the reign of Antoninus Pius, erected a wall or rampart, extending from Old Kirkpatrick, on the Clyde, to the borders of the Forth; a ſpace of thirty miles, defended by a chain of forts, all ſuppoſed to have been built on the ſite choſen by Agricola. Some veſtiges of the wall are ſtill to be ſeen. It is uſually called Graham's Dike. Guthrie, in his Geographical Grammar, ſays, one of the greateſt improvements for inland navigation is now (1771) carrying on, at a conſiderable expence, by a ſociety of public-ſpirited gentlemen, for the purpoſe of joining the rivers Forth and Clyde; by which a communication will be opened between the eaſt and weſt ſeas, to the immenſe

menſe advantage of the whole kingdom, as muſt be evident to every perſon who ſhall throw his eye upon the map of Scotland. *Geographical Grammar*, 4to edit.

Section XXIV.

(*a*) Agricola's fifth campaign was in the ſummer A. U. C. 835; A. D. 82.

(*b*) We are now to ſee Agricola penetrating farther into North Britain; but the laconic ſtyle of the author does not diſtinctly tell us on which ſide of the country the attempt was made. From the ſequel, however, it is clear, that having driven the Caledonians beyond the iſthmus between the Clyde and the Forth, as it were into another iſland, the Roman general was determined to march againſt the nations to the north of the Clyde, in order to ſpread a general alarm, and make an impreſſion on the weſt ſide of the country. For that purpoſe, Tacitus ſays, he croſſed the æſtuary, meaning the gulf of Dumbarton. The commentators are much divided about the conſtruction of the words, *nave primâ tranſgreſſus*; *he ſailed in the firſt ſhip*. Some of them will have it, that he embarked in the firſt ſhip of his fleet: but we have no account of a fleet in readineſs for this expedition. The tranſlation, therefore, has adopted the moſt natural and obvious ſenſe. Agricola croſſed the æſtuary of the Clyde, in the firſt Roman veſſel that was ever ſeen in thoſe parts. His army, in the mean time, marched over the iſthmus, probably near Dumbarton, and, making a rapid progreſs through Argyleſhire, advanced to the ſea-coaſt oppoſite to Ireland. It appears in the following ſection, that

that Agricola had no fleet till he ordered ſhips to be got in readineſs for his ſixth campaign.

(*c*) The terms in which La Bletterie expreſſes himſelf in his notes on this ſection, one might imagine were dictated in the heat of the late conteſts between Ireland and Great Britain. The French author ſays, "Ireland has more harbours and more convenient ports than any other country in Europe. England has but a ſmall number. Ireland, if ſhe could ſhake off the Britiſh yoke, and form an independent ſtate, would ruin the Britiſh commerce; but, to her misfortune, England is too well convinced of this truth." The ruin of Britain would undoubtedly be agreeable to a French patriot; but the man who in his heart is a friend to both countries, may be allowed to expreſs his wiſh, that, upon proper terms, both iſlands may be always united in intereſt. The combined valour of the two kingdoms will be, at all times, an overmatch for the maritime powers of Europe. Some of the hiſtorians of Ireland ſeem to be much offended with Tacitus, on account of the opinion here advanced; namely, that one legion, with a body of auxiliaries, would be ſufficient for the conqueſt of Ireland; and perhaps they are right. Courage has been, in every age, the diſtinguiſhing quality of that country. The Roman general would have found a people no leſs fierce and independent than the Caledonians; and it is probable, that, among the chieftains, there would have been many a GALGACUS to ſtand forth in the cauſe of liberty.

Section

Section XXV.

(*a*) Agricola's ſixth campaign was A. U. C. 836; A. D. 83; the ſecond year of Domitian's reign.

(*b*) Agricola, in the third year of his expeditions, had penetrated, north of the Forth, as far as the Firth of Tay (ſee ſection xxii.): but we are told by Tacitus, that the country was over-run, not conquered; nor was it ſufficiently explored. And we find, that Agricola, dreading an inſurrection of all the nations beyond the Firth of Forth, judged it right to man a fleet, in order to ſearch the coaſts and countries on the eaſtern ſide of Caledonia. Gordon, in his Itinerary, is of opinion, ſince no mention is made in the text of the return of thoſe ſhips, that, after their ſurvey of the coaſt, they remained either in ſome road or harbour in Fifeſhire, or within the Firth of Tay, being the moſt commodious ſhelter from tempeſtuous weather. The war was now carried on in the counties of *Fife*, *Perth*, and *Angus*, if not farther.

(*c*) Traces of theſe forts and caſtles are ſtill extant in *Fifeſhire*, *Perth*, and *Strathearn*.

Section XXVI.

(*a*) This battle, Gordon the antiquarian thinks, was fought in the county of *Fife*; and he draws his concluſion from the appearance of a Roman camp ſtill to be ſeen at a place called *Loch-Ore*, about two miles from *Loch-Leven*. The form of this camp, Gordon ſays, is neareſt to a ſquare, but in many parts ſo levelled and defaced, that he could not make a perfect draught of it. To the

the ſouth of this camp there is a large moraſs, in which are daily dug up the roots of different trees, in ſuch abundance as ſerves to ſhew that it was formerly a great wood; which renders it highly probable that the ninth legion was attacked in that very camp, ſince Tacitus tells us, that if the bogs and woods had not covered the flight of the Caledonians, the victory obtained by the Romans would have ended the war. We are further told, that near this place there is a ſmall village, called the *Blair*; a word, in the old language, ſignifying *locus pugnæ*, the ſpot where a battle was fought. See Gordon's *Itinerary*, p. 36.

(*b*) There were four gates to a Roman camp, one on each ſide of the circumference, acceſſible for the uſe of the baggage horſes, and wide in caſe of a ſally. The gates had their diſtinct names; *Prætoria*, *Decumana*, *Dextra*, and *Siniſtra*.

(*c*) The marſhes and foreſts that protected the Caledonians were, moſt probably, *Loch-Leven*, and the woods that grew around it, as mentioned in this ſection, note (*a*).

Section XXVII.

(*a*) All public reſolutions were formed, among barbarians, at their carouſing feſtivals in religious groves. It was in this manner that CIVILIS drew the Batavians and the Germans into a league againſt the Romans. See Tacitus, *Hiſt.* iv. ſ. 14.

Section XXVIII.

(*a*) The Uſipians inhabited the Duchy of Cleves, and other parts of Germany. See the *Manners of the Germans*, ſ. xxxii. note *(a)*.

(*b*) The

(*b*) The *Manipuli* were companies of foot, as the *Turmæ* were of the cavalry. A cohort conſiſted of ſixty companies, ten in each, amounting in the whole to ſix hundred men. Each cohort was commanded by a centurion. Roman ſoldiers were intermixed with the Uſipians, in order to inſtruct a body of auxiliaries in the art of war.

(*c*) Tacitus has not mentioned the place from which theſe daring adventurers put to ſea. Dio relates the ſame enterpriſe, but he alſo omits the port from which the voyage began. All we learn from that author, or rather from the abridgement of Xiphilin, is, that certain ſoldiers, who had mutinied againſt their centurions, and put them to death, ſeized a veſſel, and ſailing, at the mercy of winds and waves, along the weſtern part of the iſland, landed, againſt their deſign, upon the coaſt, near one of the camps which the Romans had in the country. See Manning's Dion Caſſius, v. ii. p. 62. Tacitus had an opportunity of being informed by Agricola, his father-in-law; and his account is, therefore, more circumſtantial. From both hiſtorians it may be fairly collected, that the outſet of this deſperate voyage was either from ſome port in Galloway, or from Cantire in Argyleſhire, where Agricola had ſtationed his garriſons. The deſerters, in the courſe of their voyage, landed at various places, and ſuffered by famine and other diſaſters, till they reached the eaſtern coaſt, where, and where only, the Romans were ſtationed in different encampments.

(*c*) The adventurers, as ſtated in the laſt note, having either ſailed northward of the Orcades, or through *Pentland Firth*, which divides thoſe iſlands from the extremity of Scotland, reached the

the German Ocean; and thence, through want of ſkill in navigation, or driven by tempeſtuous weather, arrived at length in the Baltic (*Mare Suevicum*), and landed on the coaſt of the Suevians. Being conſidered as freebooters and pirates, their ſtory gained no friends. The boldneſs of their enterpriſe found no admirers, and their ſufferings excited no compaſſion. They were ſeized, firſt by the Suevi, between the *Viſtula* and the *Elbe*. Thoſe who eſcaped the Suevians, fell into the hands of the Friſians, between the Amiſia (the Ems) and the Rhine. Being ſold to ſlavery, many of them made their way to the Roman ſettlements on the weſt ſide of the Rhine, and there related their perils by ſea and land.

It will not be altogether foreign to the purpoſe, and perhaps not unwelcome to the reader, if we obſerve, that, prior to the adventure of the Uſipians, there was, in a former age, another enterpriſe, ſtill more extraordinary. Pliny the elder relates the fact, after Cornelius Nepos, who, in his account of a voyage to the North, ſays, that in the conſulſhip of Quintus Metellus Celer, and Lucius Afranius (A. U. C. 694, before Chriſt 60), certain Indians, who had embarked on a commercial voyage, were caſt away on the coaſt of Germany, and given as a preſent, by the king of the Suevians, to Metellus, who was at that time proconſular governor of Gaul. *Cornelius Nepos de ſeptemtrionali circuitu tradit, Quinto Metello Celeri, Lucii Afranii in conſulatu collegæ, ſed tum Galliæ proconſuli, indos a rege Suevorum dono datos, qui ex Indiâ commercii cauſâ navigantes, tempeſtatibus eſſent in Germaniam abrepti.* Pliny, lib. ii. ſ. 67. The work of Cornelius Nepos has not come down to us; and Pliny, as it ſeems, has abridged too much. The whole tract would have furniſhed

furniſhed a conſiderable event in the hiſtory of navigation. At preſent, we are left to conjecture, whether the Indian adventurers ſailed round the Cape of Good Hope, through the Atlantic Ocean, and thence into the Northern Seas; or whether they made a voyage ſtill more extraordinary, by paſſing the iſland of *Japan*, the coaſt of *Siberia*, *Kamchatſka*, *Zembla* in the Frozen Ocean, and thence round *Lapland* and *Norway*, either into the Baltic or the German Ocean. In the former caſe, the paſſage from the Eaſt Indies was actually known long before the diſcovery by the Portugueſe in the year 1497. In the ſecond caſe, if they ſailed along the coaſt of *China* and *Kamchatſka*, the north-eaſt paſſage, hitherto attempted in vain, was explored many centuries ago.

It may be proper to mention, that about the year 1770, a ſet of navigators from Japan were driven by tempeſtuous weather to the northern coaſt of Siberia, and, having landed at *Kamchatſka*, were conveyed to Peterſburg, and there received by the Empreſs of Ruſſia with the greateſt humanity.

(*d*) This was the ſummer in the year of Rome 837, A. D. 84, when Agricola opened his ſeventh campaign.

Section XXIX.

(*a*) To aſcertain the ſpot where the *Mons Grampius* or *Grampian Hill* ſtands, Gordon obſerves in his Itinerary, has employed the antiquaries both of England and Scotland. Camden, and moſt of the Engliſh, in their commentaries on this paſſage, fix it at a place called *Grantſbain*; but where that is, Gordon ſays, he could not diſcover. The Scotch antiquaries, he obſerves, are much divided; ſome contending for the ſhire of *Angus*,

Angus, others for the *Blair of Athol* in *Perthſhire*, or *Ardoch* in *Strathallan*. After examining thoſe different propoſitions, Gordon gives his opinion, that the *Mons Grampius*, mentioned by Tacitus, is in *Strathearn*, half a mile ſouth of the Kirk of *Comerie*. His reaſons, as well as they can be condenſed in this note, are as follows :—In the firſt place, there is in Scotland a moſt remarkable ridge of mountains, called the GRAMPIAN HILLS, which divide the *Highlands* from the *Lowlands*, reaching from *Dumbarton* on the Firth of *Clyde*, as far as *Aberdeen* on the German Ocean. The *Mons Grampius* in queſtion is undoubtedly one of thoſe Grampian hills; and that it was near the *Kirk of Comerie*, Gordon thinks evident from the following facts. Near *Comerie* he found a large extended plain, about a mile in breadth, and ſeveral miles in length; and on one part of the plain, a noble ſquare Roman encampment, divided into two partitions, each ſurrounded with two *aggeres*, or ramparts, and between them a large *foſſa*, or ditch, with four diſtinct entrances into the camp, analogous to thoſe deſcribed by Joſephus, when the Romans laid ſiege to Jeruſalem. Gordon adds, that he calculated the number of men contained in the ſouthmoſt camp, according to the allowance of ground made by Polybius for each foot-ſoldier, and was agreeably ſurpriſed to find it contained the preciſe number which Tacitus ſays (ſect. xxxv.) Agricola had under his command at the battle of *Mons Grampius*, viz. 8000 auxiliaries; and in the other ſquare, exactly 3000 horſe. The plain is directly at the foot of the *Grampian hills*; and there are the *colles*, or riſing grounds, on which the Caledonians were placed before the battle. Nor is it difficult, on viewing this ground, to gueſs at the place where the *covinarii*, or charioteers, wheeled about. Gordon adds one argu-

ment more, which he thinks decisive: the moor, on which the camp stands, is called to this day *Galdachan*, or *Galgachan Ross-moor*; not that *Galgacus* constructed the camp, but here he engaged Agricola's army; for which reason his name is left on the place. See Gordon's *Itinerary*, p. 39 and 40.—It must not be dissembled, that Mr. Pennant, a very ingenious and entertaining traveller, has lately visited the same ground, and has given his reasons for dissenting from Mr. Gordon. What that gentleman advances must always merit attention. The camp, he says, which Gordon has described, lies between the river *Earn*, and the little stream called the *Ruchel*, on a plain too contracted for such a number of combatants, as Tacitus says there was, to form and act in, or for their charioteers or cavalry to scour the field. He admits that there are several small hills near the greater, where the Britons might have ranged themselves before the battle. But the distance from the sea is, with Mr. Pennant, an insuperable argument against this being the spot; as we are expressly informed, that Agricola sent his fleet before, in order to distract and divide the enemy; and that he himself marched with his army, till he arrived at the Grampian mountain, where he found the Caledonians drawn up in force. Mr. Pennant says, from the whole account given by Tacitus, it should be supposed that the action was fought in an open country, at the foot of certain hills, not in a little plain amidst defiles, as the valleys about *Comerie* consist of. Pennant's *Tour*, 1772, part ii. p. 96. It is not the design of this note to decide between these two opposite opinions; but, upon due consideration, it may be found that Mr. Pennant's arguments are far from being conclusive. The

place,

place, however, for a fair inveſtigation will be, when Tacitus draws up both armies in order of battle. We ſhall then be able to form a more exact idea of the ſpot; and, perhaps, we ſhall have reaſon to accede to Gordon's opinion. See ſect. xxxv. and note (*a*).

(*b*) In the chronicle of the kings of Scotland, *Galgacus* is called *Galdus*; of which name, and its etymology, Gordon gives the following account:—*Galgacus* was latiniſed by the Romans from two Highland appellations, viz. *Gald* and *Cachach*; the firſt, *Gald*, being the proper name, and the ſecond an adjection to it, from the battles he had fought; it ſignifies the ſame as *præliоſus*; *Gald the fighter of battles*; which kind of nickname is ſtill in uſe among the Highlanders. Thus the late Viſcount *Dundee* was, by the Highlanders that followed him, called *John Du-Nan-Cach, Black-haired John who fights the battles:* and in like manner John Duke of Argyle was known among the Highlanders by the name of *John Roy-Nan-Cach, Red-haired John who fights the battles*. Gordon's *Itinerary*, p. 40. In the ſpeech aſcribed to this gallant chieftain, we have a ſtriking picture of Roman oppreſſion. The various arts of thoſe ambitious conquerors, and the vices of their government in the ſeveral provinces of the empire, are painted forth in glaring colours. The art of compreſſing in pathetic language, with preciſion and energy, all the topics that can inſpire the heart of man with a generous love of liberty, is here diſplayed in full perfection. It may indeed be doubted, whether *Galgacus* ſpoke what Tacitus has put into his mouth; but that he harangued his men is highly probable. In thoſe days, no battle was fought without a ſpeech from the general, to rouſe and animate the valour of his army. We ſee the

ſame cuſtom among the ancient Germans, and we find it among the ſavages of America. In our times few or no ſpeeches are made at the head of the line. The modern general has no occaſion to be an orator: his artillery ſpeaks for him. But ſince it is likely that *Galgacus* addreſſed his men, that probability is ground ſufficient for the hiſtorian; and *Galgacus*, then upon the point of a deciſive action, when all that was dear to him depended on the event, may be fairly allowed to have addreſſed his men in ſubſtance at leaſt, if not in the manner here repreſented. The ferocity of a ſavage, whoſe boſom glowed with the love of liberty, gives warmth and ſpirit to the whole ſpeech. Neither the Greek nor Roman page has any thing to compare with it. The critics have admired the ſpeech of Porus to Alexander; but, excellent as it is, it ſhrinks and fades away before the Caledonian orator. Even the ſpeech of Agricola, which follows immediately after it, is tame and feeble, when oppoſed to the ardour, the impetuoſity, and the vehemence of the Britiſh chief. We ſee Tacitus exerting all his art to decorate the character of his father-in-law: but he had neither the ſame vein of ſentiment, nor the ſame generous love of liberty, to ſupport the cauſe of an ambitious conqueror. In the harangue of *Galgacus*, the pleaſure of the reader ſprings from two principles: he admires the enthuſiaſm of the brave Caledonian, and at the ſame time applauds the noble hiſtorian, who draws up a charge againſt the tyranny of his own countrymen, and generouſly liſts on the ſide of liberty.

Section

Section XXXI.

(*a*) The Trinobantes, or the people of Eſſex, joined the Icenians in the grand revolt under Boadicea. See this Tract, ſect. xvi. and *Annals*, b. xiv. f. 31.

(*b*) This paſſage has occaſioned much controverſy among the commentators; but thoſe gentlemen are often ingenious to no end but to perplex themſelves. The text is ſuſceptible of an eaſy and obvious conſtruction; and it is this: we have been hitherto unſubdued, and therefore we are not now to taſte of liberty for the firſt time: we have always enjoyed our rights: let us preſerve them by our valour.

Section XXXII.

(*a*) In conſequence of the military ſyſtem of the Romans, the ſoldiers remained in a ſtate of celibacy. Dio tells us, that the emperor Claudius, to relieve them from the ſtrict ſeverity of the laws, allowed them all the rights and privileges annexed to the married ſtate. Severus owed the imperial dignity to the legions; and, to mark his gratitude, gave them leave to marry, and, by that and other indulgences, relaxed, and well nigh ruined the diſcipline of the army. Before that time, a Roman camp had no place of accommodation for women. See, in Duncan's Cæſar, a diſſertation on the Roman art of war. That the Germans and other barbarians were inflamed with uncommon ardour by their women in the field of battle, has appeared in various inſtances throughout the Annals and Hiſtory of Tacitus.

(*b*) The conquered provinces furniſhed auxiliaries, and the legions were often recruited by levies raiſed in diſtant parts of the empire. Thoſe ſoldiers were not intereſted in the cauſe of Rome: their native country was in different and remote places.

(*c*) The good ſenſe, no leſs than the ſpirit, of the Caledonian warrior is ſeen in this remark. Livy has a ſimilar paſſage. The plume and creſt of the enemy can inflict no wound: the Roman javelin can pierce the painted ſhield; and the ranks of war, that diſplay their glittering mantles, when attacked ſword in hand, are ſoon diſcoloured with blood. *Non criſtas vulnera facere, et per picta atque aurata ſcuta tranſire Romanum pilum; et candore tunicarum fulgentem aciem, ubi res ferro geratur, cruentari.* Livy, lib. x. ſ. 39.

(*d*) The Uſipians were auxiliaries from Germany, engaged in the quarrels of Rome; but not feeling themſelves intereſted in the cauſe, they determined to return to their own country, and, with that deſign, committed themſelves to the mercy of the winds and waves. See this Tract, ſ. 28.

Section XXXIII.

(*a*) There is here a ſmall miſtake, the error, perhaps, of the copyiſt; as this, in fact, was Agricola's ſeventh campaign. In the ſpeech that follows, the reader will ſee the colours of rhetoric employed, to flatter the ſoldier's pride, and decorate the luſt of dominion with ſpecious and ſeducing appearances.

(*b*) Under all former commanders, the ſcene of action was in that part of Britain called England. Statius, indeed, uſing his poetical licence, carries

carries Bolanus as far as *Thulé*, and crowns his hero with laurels in the Highlands of Scotland. See ſect. viii. note (*a*), and xvi. note (*e*). But Agricola was the firſt Roman general that carried his victorious arms into Caledonia, and reduced that whole country as far as the Firth of *Tay*.

(*c*) Livy has a ſimilar ſentiment. The ſoldiers, he ſays, fixed their eyes on their arms and the ſwords in their hands, which they conſidered as their only hope. *Arma tantùm ferrumque in dextris, velut ſolas reliquias ſpei ſuæ, intuentes.* Lib. v. ſ. 42.

Section XXXIV.

(*a*) An account of this attack, in which the legion, if Agricola had not arrived in time, would probably have been cut to pieces, is given in this Tract, ſect. xxvi.

(*b*) Aulus Plautius undertook his expedition into Britain, A. U. C. 796. From that time to the battle now impending, one or two and forty years had elapſed: Agricola did not think an exact ſtatement neceſſary; he was ſpeaking to the paſſions, and, therefore, uſed an oratorical amplification.

Section XXXV.

(*a*) We are now on the point of a great and deciſive action. The motives that incite both armies have been diſplayed with energy. On one ſide, the liberty of a people is depending; on the other, the fate of the Roman army. The order, in which the combatants were drawn up, is now preſented to us, but with the uſual brevity of Tacitus. All this preparation keeps the reader in ſuſpenſe,

ſuſpenſe, and fills the mind with expectation. As Britons we feel for our anceſtors, and as ſcholars we are dazzled by the glory of the Roman name. We have now before us the preparations for the *ſwelling ſcene*. The main body of the Caledonians took poſt on the acclivity of the Grampian mount; their advanced lines ſtood at the foot of the hill, and the ranks roſe one above another, in regular order, to the ſummit. The charioteers and horſemen advanced on the open plain, and ruſhed to and fro with wild velocity. On the ſide of the Romans, the order of battle was as follows:—Eight thouſand auxiliaries formed the centre; the cavalry, amounting to three thouſand, took poſt in the wings: the legions were ſtationed in the rear, near the entrenchments, to act as occaſion required, as a body of reſerve; and, that the enemy might not be able to make an impreſſion on the flank, the front lines of the army were extended to a conſiderable length. Brotier, in his note on this paſſage, adds, that the ſpot where the battle was fought was in *Strathearn*, near the *Kirk of Comerie:* for this he relies on the authority of Gordon. The camp, deſcribed in two diviſions, one for the auxiliaries, and the other for the cavalry (ſee ſect. xxix. note (*a*), appears to him to be a circumſtance of great weight, as indeed it muſt to every one who conſiders that the Romans ſeldom or never came to action till they had, in ſome convenient place, formed a camp, and thrown up their entrenchments, to ſecure their retreat. There were beſides, as appears in Gordon's Itinerary, other camps in the adjacent country, from which Agricola drew together the main ſtrength of his army. Mr. Pennant obſerves, that, according to Tacitus, the Caledonians were above thirty thouſand ſtrong, and could not act with effect in cloſe and narrow defiles.

defiles. See ſect. xxix. note (*a*). But, as it ſhould ſeem, the ſpot was choſen by Galgacus, with a view to draw the Romans into a contracted plain, and then pour down upon them from the high grounds, and the Grampian hill. On the other hand, Agricola, who is celebrated for ſkill in chooſing his ground, might alſo prefer a place where thirty thouſand men could not at once attack an inferior army. In this it appears that he ſucceeded. We are told, that the enormous ſwords of the Caledonians were unfit for an engagement in a confined ſpace; *in arcto pugnam non tolerabant*: and, afterwards when the charioteers ruſhed into the heat of the action, they were ſoon entangled among the inequalities of the ground; *inæqualibus locis hærebant*. The objection, therefore, to the narrowneſs of the field of battle, on which Mr. Pennant lays ſo much ſtreſs, ſeems to loſe its force, when we find that the battle was actually fought in a place of no great extent, ſurrounded by a number of hills, beſides the Grampian mountain, where the main body of the Caledonians lay in wait for an opportunity to ruſh down upon the Romans. As to the diſtance from the ſea, which Mr. Pennant calls an inſuperable argument, as Agricola ſent forward his fleet to diſtract the enemy, it is by no means a deciſive circumſtance. In Agricola's ſixth campaign (ſee ſect. xxv.) Tacitus tells us, that the fleet and land forces proceeded in ſight of each other. In the preſent expedition, that is not ſaid to have been the caſe. The Roman general might order his fleet to ſail acroſs the firths both of the *Tay* and the *Forth*, while he himſelf, at the head of his army, marched in queſt of the enemy, then actually aſſembled at the Grampian hill. In caſe of a defeat, the ſhips were, perhaps, in the Firth of *Tay* to receive the flying army. Upon the whole,

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it appears, from all the circumſtances of the battle, that the Caledonians, far from wiſhing to act in a wide extended plain, choſe a ſpot, where they were poſted to advantage, on the hills. When at laſt they quitted their faſtneſſes, it is evident that they could not exert themſelves with effect amidſt the narrow defiles. Upon the whole, the controverſy will not eaſily be decided: antiquarians are ſeldom willing to agree, and the Grampian hill is likely to continue a ſubject of contention. The reader, who promiſes himſelf either pleaſure or inſtruction from the enquiry, will do well to peruſe the arguments of Gordon and Mr. Pennant, as ſtated by themſelves. He will then be able to draw his own concluſion.

(*b*) From this paſſage it is evident, that while the Caledonians kept their poſt on the Grampian hill, and the adjacent heights, the plain was wide enough for the charioteers and cavalry; but, in the heat of the engagement, they were drawn into narrow paſſes, where they could no longer act with vigour.

Section XXXVI

(*a*) Theſe targets, in Latin *cetræ*, were made of oziers, or boards, covered over with leather. The Caledonians, who fought on this occaſion, left the faſhion of their armour, as well as an example of courage, to late poſterity. The broad ſword and target are well known to have been, in modern times, the peculiar arms of the Highlanders.

(*b*) The Batavians, after their revolt under Civilis, which ended A. U. C. 823, A. D. 70 (ſee *Hiſt.* b. v. ſ. 26), renewed their ancient friendſhip with the Romans. Several inſcriptions on altars, having *Cohors prima Batavorum* engraved on them, have been dug up in the north of England.

land. Several others, commemorating the Tungrian cohorts, have been found, as may be ſeen in Gordon's Itinerary.

(*c*) Brotier obſerves, from Vegetius, b. i. ſ. 12. that the Britons fought with the edge of their ſword, and cut and hewed the enemy. The Romans, on the contrary, made uſe of the point, and, in cloſe engagement, had greatly the advantage.

(*d*) The Britiſh warrior in his chariot is here called *Covinarius*, the driver of a *covinus*. It has been already mentioned, that the chieftain, contrary to the practice of the Greeks, thought it a point of honour to guide the car, while other combatants from the ſame vehicle annoyed the enemy. See this Tract, ſ. xii. note (*a*). Some of the critics will have it, that the word *covinus* muſt have been coined by Tacitus, ſince it is not to be found in any other Latin writer: but they forget that Lucan has uſed it, and he wrote his Pharſalia before Tacitus was grown up to man's eſtate:

> Et docilis rector monſtrati Belga COVINI.
> PHARS. lib. i. ver. 426.

The name uſed by Cæſar for the Britons warlike chariot is ESSEDA. Their way of fighting in thoſe vehicles, he tells us, is as follows:—They firſt drive round all parts of the lines, throwing their darts, and, by the very terror of their horſes, and the rattling of their wheels, diſordering the ranks of the enemy. When they have forced their way into the thick of the cavalry, they leap from their chariots, and fight on foot. Meanwhile the drivers retire a little way from the combat, and place themſelves in ſuch a manner as to favour the retreat of their comrades, ſhould they be

be overpowered by the enemy. Thus they perform the part of nimble horſemen, and ſtable infantry. By continual exerciſe they have arrived at ſuch expertneſs, that in the moſt ſteep and difficult places, they can ſtop their horſes at full ſtretch, turn them which way they pleaſe, run along the pole, reſt on the harneſs, and with incredible agility recover their ſeat in the chariot. *Bell. Gall.* lib. iv. ſ. 33. Duncan's *Cæſar*, b. iv, ſ. 29.

Section XXXVII.

(*a*) Longinus has obſerved, that baniſhing copulatives is a great help to the grandeur of a ſentence: when conjunctions are artfully diſcarded, the periods are poured along in ſuch a manner that they ſeem to outſtrip the thought of the ſpeaker. He cites a paſſage in Xenophon as an example: cloſing their ſhields together, they were puſhed, they fought, they ſlew, they were ſlain. In deſcribing the rout of Catiline's army, Salluſt ſays, they fled, they were followed, they were killed, they were taken——*Sequi fugere, occidi, capi.* Tacitus ſaw the hurry, the force, the rapidity of the disjointed words in Salluſt, and thought the paſſage worthy of imitation. Voltaire has endeavoured to ſhew the wild diſorder of a battle in the ſame manner:

> Français, Anglais, Lorrains, que la fureur aſſemble,
> Avançaient, combattaient, frappaient, mouraient enſemble.
> HENRIADE, Chant 6.

(*b*) Aulus Atticus was probably the præfect of a Tungrian cohort. An altar dedicated to the god *Mars*, by Quintus Florius Maternus, præfect of a Tungrian cohort, has been dug up in Scotland. See Gordon's *Itinerary*, p. 76.

Section

Section XXXVIII.

(*a*) This picture of rage and despair, of tenderness, fury, and the tumult of contending passions, has all the fine touches of a master who had studied human nature. It often happens, that, in the last extremity of despair, the mind is fired with sudden courage. Rather than fall with tame resignation, it rouses all its force, and, by one vigorous effort, endeavours to signalize itself even in ruin. Tacitus has said in another place, *Desperatione in audaciam accinguntur.* The Cimbrian women, when they saw their husbands defeated by Marius, acted with the most savage ferocity, and in their fury destroyed their own children. See the *Manners of the Germans,* sect. xxxvii.

(*b*) The Horestians are said, by some of the commentators, to have inhabited the country now called *Angus,* on the north side of the *Tay.* Gordon, in his Itinerary, says that Agricola, after his victory, led back his army into the country of the *Horestii,* or *Angus*; for, as it is certain that Agricola, in the third year of his expedition, had been there before, so it is natural to think he led his army to the place where his fleet was, which most probably was in the Firth of *Tay. Itinerary,* p. 40. But in this there seems to be some mistake. We are expresly told by Tacitus, that Agricola, in his third campaign, penetrated as far as the Firth of *Tay: Vastatis usque ad Taum, (æstuario nomen est) nationibus.* Not a word is said of his proceeding farther. He erected forts and castles to bridle the natives during the winter, and the business of his fourth campaign was to secure what he had over-run in the preceding summer.

mer. In the fixth ſummer, when all the northern Caledonians were in motion, it was the opinion of the principal officers that the moſt adviſable meaſure would be to repaſs the Forth. Hence it is clear that Agricola was then in *Fifeſhire*, and not in *Angus*; otherwiſe, to repaſs the *Tay* would have been the advice. After the victory at the *Grampian Hill*, Agricola led back his army, and that was moſt probably into *Fifeſhire*, where camps and forts had been erected. For theſe reaſons it may be aſſumed, that the *Horeſtii* were the people of *Fifeſhire*.

(*c*) This circumnavigation is not related with ſufficient accuracy. Agricola heard of the bold adventure of the Uſipians (ſee ſect. xxviii.), and reſolved to gain farther information; but the place, from which his fleet ſet out on the voyage, is not mentioned. It was, beyond all doubt, from the *Forth* or the *Tay*. Being with his army in *Fifeſhire*, he could there, with all convenience, iſſue his orders. The expedition being begun, he proceeded by ſlow marches towards the ſouthern parts of Caledonia, and led his army into winter quarters.

(*d*) The fleet, in the mean time, ſailed round the extremity of the iſland, and, having purſued the voyage along the weſtern coaſt, and through the Britiſh Channel, arrived at *Sandwich*, called in the text *Portus Trutulenſis*, probably by an error of the copyiſts, as the real name is *Rutupenſis*, or *Rutupinus*. So it is called by Ptolemy. Juvenal has

——————Rutupinove edita fundo
Oſtrea—— Sat. iv. ver. 141.

This voyage, which aſcertained that Britain is an iſland, was in a contrary direction to that of the Uſipian

Uſipian deſerters. The fleet ſet out from the *Forth* or *Tay* on the eaſtern coaſt, and, ſailing thence round the northern, weſtern, and ſouthern coaſts, arrived at the port of *Sandwich* in *Kent*, and, proceeding along the eaſtern ſide of the iſland, returned without loſs to its former ſtation.

Section XXXIX.

(*a*) While Agricola was thus employed in extending the limits of the empire, and ſecuring his conqueſts, as far as the neck of land between the *Forth* and the *Clyde*, by a chain of forts and garriſons, Domitian (A. U. C. 837, A. D. 84) went on his mock expedition into Germany, and returned without ſeeing the face of an enemy. Caligula had left him the precedent of a victory without a foe to conquer. In imitation of that brilliant example, Domitian purchaſed a number of ſlaves, whom he ordered to let their hair grow, and tinge it with yellow, that they might paſs for German priſoners of war. See the account of Caligula in Suetonius, ſ. 47. See this Tract, ſect. xiii. and note (*c*).

(*b*) Pliny, in his Panegyric on Trajan, has given a ſtriking picture of Domitian in his dark retreat. That ſavage beaſt was ſhut up as it were in a den, where he quaffed the blood of his relations; and when he came forth, it was to riot in the deſtruction of the beſt and moſt illuſtrious citizens. Diſmay and terror obſtructed his door; and they, who were excluded, were as much in danger as thoſe that gained admittance. The tyrant was horrible to the ſight, and his approach was dreadful: pride in his aſpect; anger in his eye; a feminine whiteneſs over his whole body; and in his countenance an air of arrogance, ſluſhed

fluſhed with the deepeſt red. No man dared to approach him; none could ſpeak to him; he remained in darkneſs brooding miſchief, and never came forth from his ſolitude, but to make a worſe ſolitude by the deſtruction of eminent men. *Illa immaniſſima bellua, velut quodam ſpecu incluſa, nunc propinquorum ſanguinem lamberet; nunc ſe ad clariſſimorum civium ſtrages cædeſque proferret. Obverſabantur foribus horror et minæ, et par metus admiſſis et excluſis. Ad hoc ipſe occurſu quoque viſuque terribilis: ſuperbia in fronte, ira in oculis, fœmineus pallor in corpore, in ore impudentia multo rubore ſuffuſa. Non adire quiſquam, non alloqui audebat, tenebras ſemper ſecretumque captantem; nec unquam ex ſolitudine ſuâ prodeuntem, niſi ut ſolitudinem faceret. Panegyr. Traj.* ſect. xlviii. In the beginning of his reign his love of ſolitude was rather more innocent; but ſtill it was a prelude to future cruelty. He paſſed an hour every day in private, wholly employed in catching flies, and fixing them on the ſharp point of a bodkin. Hence, when ſomebody enquired, *whether any one was with the emperor,* Vibius Criſpus aptly and pleaſantly anſwered, *Not ſo much as a fly. Ut cuidam interroganti,* ESSETNE QUISQUAM INTUS CUM CÆSARE, *non abſurde reſponſum ſit a Vibio Criſpo,* NE MUSCA QUIDEM. Suetonius, in *Domitiano,* ſect. iii.

Section XL.

(*a*) A real triumph, after the downfal of the republic, was reſerved for the emperor only. The title of IMPERATOR was aſſumed by the prince. At firſt it meant no more than GENERAL IN CHIEF; but, as all power was centred in him, the word, in proceſs of time, implied what is

NOW

now underſtood by the appellation of EMPEROR. Auguſtus Cæſar was not in haſte to arrogate to himſelf the ſole right of enjoying the honour of a triumph: with the addreſs of an able politician, he reſolved to make it of little value, and, for that purpoſe, he granted a triumph to no leſs than thirty different perſons. At length, in the year of Rome 740, that military reward was aboliſhed altogether. Auguſtus was indebted for the opportunity to the art of Agrippa, who, by a complete victory over the people of Boſphorus, had reinſtated Polemon on his throne, and refuſed the triumph, which was decreed by the ſenate. This was a ſtroke of courtly compliance with the wiſhes of his maſter. From that time, Dio ſays, the commanders of armies followed the example of Agrippa; and no Roman, however eminent for his military talents, enjoyed any higher diſtinction than that of triumphal ornaments, which were, the general's ſplendid garment, a ſtatue in the forum crowned with laurels, and other *inſignia* formerly allowed in a real triumph. The commanders of armies, after gaining a victory, ceaſed to addreſs their letters to the ſenate. Like Agrippa, they were willing to pay their court to Auguſtus. They renounced their claim, and, in this manner, the pomp of a triumph became annexed to the imperial prerogative. See *Annals*, b. iv. ſ. 23; b. xv. ſ. 72; *Hiſt.* b. i. ſ. 79.

(*b*) The ſtraits of *Dover*.

(*c*) Agricola reſigned the command, A. U. C. 838, A. D. 85. The officer who ſucceeded him is ſuppoſed to be Salluſtius Lucullus, of whom hiſtory has recorded nothing more than that he invented lances of a new form, and gave them the name of *Lucullean*. This gave umbrage to Domitian, and, for that reaſon, the tyrant order-

ed him to be put to death. Sueton. *Life of Domitian*, ſect. x.

(*d*) La Bletterie obſerves that the modeſt deportment of Agricola calls to mind the character of Marſhal Turenne, and this, he ſays, is not the only prominent feature, in which the two heroes reſemble each other. In the funeral orations, commemorating the French general, many of thoſe analogies are pointed out.

Section XLI.

(*a*) Among artful and inſidious courtiers, thoſe, who are laviſh of praiſe, are often the moſt inveterate enemies. Tacitus, in another part of his work, gives the reaſon: under a bad prince, a great name is as dangerous as a bad one. *Nec minus periculum ex magnâ famâ, quam ex malâ.* Praiſe a man, in the preſence of a tyrant, for his popular virtues, and his ruin is ſure to follow. Virgil knew that praiſe, under a ſpecious diſguiſe, is an envenomed enemy.

> Et ſi ultra placitum laudarit, bacchare frontem
> Cingite, ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro.
>
> PAST. vii. 27, 28.

> Or if he blaſt my muſe with envious praiſe,
> Then fence my brows with amulets of bays;
> Leſt his ill arts, or his malicious tongue
> Should poiſon, or bewitch my growing ſong.
>
> DRYDEN'S VIRGIL.

The malignity with which praiſe is beſtowed, in order to render an eminent character obnoxious to the prince, who lives in dread of ſuperior virtue, has been the ſtratagem of ill-deſigning men in all ages. The emperor Julian, in a letter to his friend, ſays, that the inſidious art of undermining by counterfeit praiſe is chiefly known in

in the palace of princes, where the politic courtier hates, while he commends; and ſtabs you with his panegyric beyond the malice of your moſt bitter enemies. *Conſcii ſumus invicem ambo, non uti nos eâ aulicâ diſſimulatione, quam arbitror te hactenus expertum eſſe ſolùm in dominantium regiâ; juxta quam* LAUDANTES *tali odio proſequuntur eos, quos celebrant, quale neque exercent infenſiſſimi hoſtes.* See the emperor Julian's 12th Ep. to Baſilius.

(*b*) Theſe various diſaſters happened in the years of Rome 840 and 841. Oppius Sabinus, a man of conſular rank, was defeated by the Dacians in Mæſia; the legions under him were put to the ſword; the general's head was cut off, and exhibited on a pole, a public ſpectacle for the barbarians. In another engagement with the ſame enemy, Cornelius Fuſcus met with a total defeat. In Germany and Pannonia various battles were fought with doubtful ſucceſs, and great effuſion of Roman blood. Suetonius has recorded theſe events, but in his uſual ſtyle, content with a dry ſtatement of facts. See the Life of Domitian, ſect. vi.

(*c*) The Rhine and the Danube were, at this time, the boundaries that divided Germany from the Roman empire.

Section XLII.

(*a*) In the ſeveral provinces which were left by Auguſtus under the management of the ſenate, the governors, according to ancient uſage, were changed at the end of the year. The ſenators, who had five years before diſcharged the office either of conſul or prætor, had a right to be candidates for the employment. The ſenate

named a competent number, and the perſons ſo elected drew lots for their provinces; and, whether conſuls or prætors, they were, without diſtinction, called by the general title of proconſular governors.

(*b*) We know nothing of Civica but what is here mentioned by Tacitus, and alſo by Suetonius, who informs us, that his name was Civica Cerealis, a man of conſular rank, and governor of Aſia. Domitian charged him with a conſpiracy againſt the ſtate, and under that pretence put him to death. Suetonius, *Life of Domitian*, ſect. x.

(*c*) Under the worſt of the emperors, men were obliged, by a refinement in tyranny, to receive injuries, and to be grateful for them. Tacitus mentions ſeveral perſons, who were injured in their rights, and yet, being inured to ſlavery, they returned thanks to Vitellius. *Actæque inſuper Vitellio gratiæ, conſuetudine ſervitii. Hiſt.* lib. ii. ſ. 71. Otway has made *Chamont* expreſs himſelf on this ſubject with a ſpirit of indignation.

> I have not ſlaviſh temperance enough,
> To wait a great man's heels, and watch his ſmiles;
> Bear an ill office done me to my face,
> And thank the lord that wrong'd me for his favour.

The abject ſpirit, with which men ſubmitted to the tyranny of Caligula, is emphatically deſcribed by Seneca. That emperor, he ſays, received thanks from thoſe whoſe children he put to death, or whoſe property he confiſcated. *Agebant gratias et quorum liberi occiſi, et quorum bona ablata erant. De Tranquill. Animi*, ſect. xiv. The ſame author relates the anſwer of an old courtier, when he was aſked how he arrived at a thing ſo uncommon among the attendants of princes

princes as a ſound old age? It was, replied the veteran, by receiving injuries, and returning thanks. *Notiſſima vox eſt ejus, qui in cultu regum conſenuerat, cum illum quidam interrogaret, quomodo rariſſimam rem in aulâ conſecutus eſſet, ſenectutem? Injurias, inquit, accipiendo, et gratias agendo. De Irâ*, lib. ii. ſect. 3. In oppoſition to this ſervile ſpirit, Lipſius, in a ſtrain of rapture, offers up his adoration to Arulenus Ruſticus and Herennius Senecio, for the magnanimity with which they braved the tyrant's cruelty. *Sed vos magnæ animæ mihi ſalvete! quos jure miramur, colimus, factis dictiſque ſapientes, et legitimos robuſtæ porticûs alumnos.*

(*d*) In the time of the old republic, the governors of provinces ſerved their country without any ſalary annexed to their office. It was ſeen, however, by Auguſtus, that, by an unprofitable and gratuitous ſervice, men were expoſed to various temptations; and, accordingly, that emperor, to leave avarice and rapacity without an excuſe, eſtabliſhed a regular allowance for each different province. The governors appointed by the ſenate were paid out of the *ærarium*, or public treaſury; and the emperor defrayed the charge of the adminiſtration in the imperial provinces, out of the *fiſcus*, or his own private coffers. If, for good and ſufficient reaſon, a citizen of eminence choſe to decline the fatigue of a proconſular government, it was uſual, on accepting his reſignation, to allow him the income of his office. The etymology of the word ſalary is ingeniouſly explained by the elder Pliny. Human nature, he ſays, cannot exiſt without ſalt, which is ſo much an element of life, that, paſſing from bodily ſenſation, it is now become a metaphorical term for the pleaſures of the mind. Salt is agreeable to the palate, and

is,

is, therefore, transferred to the mental taſte. By that name we call whatever is pleaſing to our intellectual faculties; whatever is poignant, gay, lively, or agreeable. The word is ſtill more extenſive: it is uſed to ſignify civil honours; and the pay of officers, and the governors of provinces, is called their SALARY. *Ita herculè vita humanior ſine ſale nequit degere; adeoque neceſſarium elementum eſt, ut tranſierit ad voluptates animi quoque. Nam ita ſales appellantur; omniſque vitæ lepos, et ſumma hilaritas, laborumque requies non alio magis vocabulo conſtat. Honoribus etiam militiæque interponitur,* SALARIIS *inde dictis.* Plin. lib. xxxi. ſ. 7.

(*e*) Seneca has the ſame ſentiment, and Tacitus ſeems to have adopted the very words. *Hoc habent peſſimum animi magnâ fortunâ inſolentes: quos læſerunt, et oderunt. De Irâ,* lib. ii. ſ. 33.

(f) Hatred is always a dark, a covered, and a lurking paſſion; the more concealed, the more implacable: ſo it was with Domitian; and we have ſeen the ſame feature of character in Tiberius. In a ſudden tranſport of paſſion he broke out againſt Haterius; but, harbouring deep reſentment againſt Scaurus, he let him paſs in ſullen ſilence. *Annals,* b. i. ſ. 13. And again, he laid up the ſeeds of reſentment, which were to grow to maturity, and ſhoot forth with large increaſe at a future day. *Odia in longum jaciens, quæ reconderet, auctaque promeret. Annals,* b. i. ſ. 69.

Section XLIII.

(*a*) A Greek epigram, written by Antiphilus of Byzantium, to the memory of a perſon of the name of Agricola, is ſtill extant. The learned refer it to the great man who is the ſubject of the preſent work.

work. The poet addreſſes himſelf to the fountains, and deſires to know, what has dried up their waters? The anſwer is, We have wept for Agricola; and the ſtream, which before was limpid, is now abſorbed by his aſhes.

Κρηναῖαι λιβάδες, τι πεφεύγατε; πῆ τόσον ὕδωρ;
Τίς φλὸξ ἀενάους ἔσβεσεν ἀελίους;
Δάκρυσιν Ἀγρικόλαν τετρίμμεθα; πᾶν δ' ὅσον ἡμῖν
Ἦν ποτὲ, ἡ κείνῳ δίψας ἔχει σποδιή.

ANTHOLOGIA, lib. i. tit. 37.

Grotius and La Bletterie have given their verſions of this little poem. It may be ſome amuſement to compare them, and therefore, without apology, both ſhall have their place.

Quo, fontis latices, quo copia veſtra receſſit?
Perpetuas ſolis quis calor hauſit aquas?
Agricolæ luctu conſumitur: illius, ante
Humida, nunc fiunt pulverulenta, ſiti. GROTIUS.

Fontani latices, quo priſtina copia ceſſit?
Dicite, quis liquidas ſol populavit opes?
Agricolum flendo defecimus, et quod aquarum
Hic erat, extincti nunc habet omne cinis.

LA BLETTERIE.

(*b*) From the manner in which Tacitus ſtates this charge, it may be inferred that he gave no credit to it; and yet Dio does not heſitate to confirm the ſtory. Suetonius is ſilent on the ſubject. But the Greek hiſtorian is often bold in aſſertion, and frequently deficient in point of truth, or hiſtorical evidence. If we believe him, Agricola, after his return from the conqueſt of Britain, paſſed the remainder of his days in diſtreſs and poverty: but Tacitus, on the contrary, aſſures us, that, though he did not poſſeſs immoderate wealth, he enjoyed a decent affluence. The Roman

Roman hiſtorian had the beſt means of information.

Section XLIV.

(*a*) There ſeems, in this place, to be ſome miſtake, not, however, imputable to Tacitus, but, more probably, to the tranſcribers, who in their manuſcript might eaſily write LVI. inſtead of LIV. Caligula's third conſulſhip was A. U. C. 793, A. D. 40. Agricola was born on the 13th of June in that year: he died on the 10th of the calends of September, that is the 23d of Auguſt, in the conſulſhip of Pompeius Collega and Cornelius Priſcus, A. U. C. 846, A. D. 93. According to this account, Agricola, on the 13th of June, A. U. 846, entered on the fifty-fourth year of his age, and died in the month of Auguſt following. It is, therefore, probable, that the copyiſts, as already obſerved, inſerted in their manuſcript FIFTY-SIX for FIFTY-FOUR. This ſuppoſition admitted, Tacitus, who, in a matter of near concern, was not likely to be guilty of an error in his calculation, may be rightly underſtood, and the commentators will be freed from all their difficulties. The character that follows is a miniature picture by a maſterly hand. Cornelius Nepos has a paſſage not unlike what is ſaid of Agricola: When ſtrangers beheld Ageſilaus, they were tempted to deſpiſe him; but thoſe, who were acquainted with his virtues, thought they could never admire him enough. *Ignoti faciem ejus cum intuerentur, contemnebant. Qui autem virtutem noverant, non poterant admirari ſatis.* The difference is, Agricola was not deſpiſed by ſtrangers; he had all the exteriors of a good man: but they who expected to find a form and ſtature adequate to his fame in arms, were

were disappointed, though willing to believe him a great, as well as a good man. The same thing happened to Alexander: Thalestris surveyed him with an undaunted countenance, thinking his figure by no means proportioned to his wide extended fame. *Interrito vultu regem Thalestris intuebatur, habitum ejus haudquaquam rerum famæ parem oculis perlustrans.* The historian gives the reason: Barbarians judge of men by their outward appearance, and think none capable of great exploits, but those whom nature has distinguished by the graces and the dignity of their figure. *Quippe hominibus barbaris ex corporum majestate veneratio est, magnorumque operum non alios capaces putant, quam quos eximia specie natura dignata est.* *Quintus Curtius*, lib. vi. s. 13.

(b) From the passage before us there is reason to conclude, that this Tract was published, when Trajan was in possession of the imperial dignity. See the introduction to these Notes.

(c) Seneca gives the same account of Caligula; a man who meditated the destruction of the whole senate; who wished that the Roman people had but one neck, that he might glut his love of blood at a single stroke. *Homo qui de toto senatu trucidando cogitabat; qui optabat, ut populus Romanus unam cervicem haberet, ut scelera sua tot locis ac temporibus diducta, in unum ictum et unam diem cogeret.* *De Irâ*, lib. iii. s. 19. On the subject of Domitian's cruelty, Juvenal breaks out with his usual indignation. He represents the emperor, at a cabinet council in his Alban villa, debating with his courtiers how an immense turbot was to be dressed. The poet concludes with wishing that the emperor had passed his days in that despicable manner, not in the slaughter of the best men in Rome.

Atque

Atque utinam his potius nugis tota illa dediſſet
Tempora ſævitiæ, claras quibus abſtulit urbi
Illuſtreſque animas impunè, et vindice nullo:
Sed periit, poſtquam cerdonibus eſſe timendus
Cœperat: hoc nocuit Lamiarum cæde madenti.
SAT. iv. ver. 150.

What folly this! but, oh that all the reſt
Of his dire reign had thus been ſpent in jeſt;
And all that time ſuch trifles had employed,
In which ſo many nobles he deſtroyed!
He ſafe, they unreveng'd, to the diſgrace
Of the ſurviving, tame, patrician race.
But when he dreadful to the rabble grew,
Him, who ſo many lords had ſlain, they ſlew.
DRYDEN'S JUVENAL.

Section XLV.

(*a*) In a ſhort time after the death of Agricola, towards the end of the year of Rome 846, the rage of Domitian broke out with collected violence, and like a tempeſt ſwept away numbers of both ſexes, all diſtinguiſhed by their virtues no leſs than by their illuſtrious rank. The ſenate-houſe was ſurrounded by the prætorian guards, the fathers ſat amidſt ſwords and javelins, and the will of the tyrant was a law. See this Tract, ſect. ii. note (*b*). Suetonius, in the Life of Domitian, ſect. x. ſays, that many of the ſenate fell a ſacrifice, and among them ſeveral of conſular rank. We find in the liſt Salluſtius Lucullus, who has been mentioned in note (*c*), ſect. xl.; and Cerealis Civica, for whom ſee ſect. xlii. and note (*b*). Salvidienus Orſitus was ſent into exile, and there put to death by order of Domitian. Acilius Glabrio ſuffered for an extraordinary reaſon. In the year of his conſulſhip, the emperor, without any reſpect for the dignity

of

of a man then actually exercising the functions of the first office in the state, ordered him to enter the list in the public spectacles, and fight a lion for the diversion of the populace. The consul had the address to kill the ferocious beast; but, as he, who could conquer a lion, might slay a tyrant, he was banished, and put to death. Ælius Lamia, a man descended from an illustrious family, perished, as Suetonius informs us, on account of some innocent strokes of wit and pleasantry, that fell from him before Domitian obtained the sovereignty; *ob suspicioſos quidem, verum veteres, et innoxios jocos.* Salvinus Cocceianus was nephew to Otho. When that emperor saw his affairs ruined, and was resolved to end his days, his advice to his nephew was, Remember that Otho was your uncle; but do not remember it too much. *Ne patruum ſibi Othonem fuiſſe aut obliviſceretur unquam, aut nimium meminiſſet. Hiſt.* lib. ii. s. 48. Under a tyrant like Domitian, to seem to forget would have been true policy; but the nephew celebrated the birth-day of his uncle, and that was a state-crime. Metius Pompoſianus had procured geographical charts of all the nations then known, and carried about him the speeches of kings and generals, extracted from Livy. For this conduct he was banished to an island, and there destroyed. Herennius Senecio, for the praise of Helvidius Priscus, and Arulenus Rusticus, for that of Pætus Thrasea, were victims to the insatiate cruelty of the tyrant. See this Tract, s. ii. and notes (*a*) and (*b*). Besides others of inferior note, Flavius Clemens, a near relation of the emperor, and jointly consul with him, A. U. C. 848, A. D. 95, was condemned, though a man, as Suetonius has it, contemptible for his sluggish indolence; *contemptiſſimæ inertiæ.* Dio assigns the reason: he was accused of

of atheiſm, like many others who had embraced the Jewiſh religion. In the Pagan ſtyle of that age, the double charge of atheiſm and Judaiſm implied that Clemens renounced the gods of Rome for the Chriſtian religion. In this general maſſacre the female ſex did not eſcape. Arria, the widow of Pætus Thraſea; Fannia, the widow of Helvidius Priſcus; and Flavia Domitilla, the wife of Flavius Clemens, were driven into baniſhment. That Agricola did not live to ſee the calamities of his country, was ſome conſolation to Tacitus, who, it ſhould ſeem, had his eye on a fine paſſage, in which Cicero makes a ſimilar reflection on the death of Craſſus, the celebrated orator. His death, he ſays, was a ſore affliction to his family, a wound to the commonwealth, and matter of grief to all good men. But the times that followed were ſuch, that his death may be called a bleſſing ſent down by the ſpecial favour of the gods. He did not live to ſee Italy involved in a general war; the ſenate rent and torn by factions; the firſt men in the ſtate perpetrating the worſt of crimes; his daughter left diſconſolate; her huſband driven into exile; the flight of Marius, his return to Rome, and the ſlaughter that followed. *Fuit hoc luctuoſum ſuis, acerbum patriæ, grave bonis omnibus. Sed ii tamen rempublicam caſus ſecuti ſunt, ut mihi non erepta Lucio Craſſo a diis immortalibus vita, ſed donata mors eſſe videatur. Non vidit flagrantem bello Italiam, non ardentem invidiâ ſenatum, non ſceleris nefarii principes civitatis reos, non luctum filiæ, non exilium generi, non acerbiſſimam Caii Marii fugam, non illam poſt reditum ejus cædem omnium crudeliſſimam.* Cicero *De Oratore*, lib. iii. ſ. 8.

(*b*) Metius Carus was one of the tribe of informers: it was he that conducted the proſecution againſt Senecio; ſee this tract, ſect. ii. note (*b*).

Pliny,

Pliny, the conſul, has preſerved this man for the execration of poſterity. He tells us, that, when Regulus, another notorious proſecutor, inveighed in open court againſt the memory of Senecio, this fellow had the impudence to ſtand up, and demand of Regulus, *What have you to do with my dead men? Do I diſturb the aſhes of Craſſus or Camerinus, whom you accuſed in Nero's reign? Lacerat Herennium Senecionem tam intemperanter, ut dixerit ei Metius Carus, Quid tibi cum meis mortuis? Numquid ego aut Craſſo aut Camerino moleſtus ſum?* Plin. lib. i. epiſt. 5. Carus has not eſcaped the indignation of Juvenal:

> Cauſidici nova cum veniat lectica MATHONIS,
> Plena ipſo; et poſt hunc magni delator amici,
> Et cito rapturus de nobilitate comeſâ,
> Quod ſupereſt: quem MASSA timet, quem munere palpat
> CARUS. JUV. SAT. i. ver. 32.

> When pleading Matho, borne abroad for air,
> With his fat paunch fills his new-faſhion'd chair;
> And after him the wretch, in pomp convey'd,
> Whoſe evidence his noble friend betray'd;
> Whom Maſſa calls the terror of the age,
> And even CARUS bribes away his rage.

During the life of Agricola, we are told by Tacitus that METIUS CARUS had gained but one victory. It ſeems, however, that he continued to flouriſh in his iniquity till the reign of Nerva, when the virtue of that emperor reformed all abuſes, and, by a juſt and wiſe adminiſtration, eſtabliſhed the peace and good order of ſociety.

(*c*) The exact name of this man was Catullus Meſſalinus. Pliny the younger has given his portrait. He ſays, that Nerva, the emperor, gave a ſupper to a ſelect number of friends, and that VEIENTO (an informer in Domitian's time) was admitted

admitted to be one of the party. The diſcourſe turned upon CATULLUS MESSALINUS, who, being blind, added to that misfortune a cruel diſpoſition. He was void of fear, of ſhame, and pity, and therefore Domitian made uſe of him as one of his inſtruments againſt every man of worth. All who were at table talked of the ſanguinary counſels of this abandoned wretch: Nerva aſked, *What think you would be his caſe, were he now alive?* Mauricus (looking at Veiento) replied, *He would ſup with us. Cœnabat Nerva cum paucis: Veiento proximus, atque etiam in ſinu recumbebat. Dixi omnia, cum hominem nominavi. Incidit ſermo de* CATULLO MESSALINO, *qui luminibus orbatus, ingenio ſævo mala cæcitatis addiderat. Non verebatur, non erubeſcebat, non miſerebatur. Sæpius a Domitiano non ſecus ac tela, quæ et ipſa cæca et improvida feruntur, in optimum quemque contorquebatur. De hujus nequitiâ, ſanguinariiſque ſententiis in commune omnes ſuper cœnam loquebantur. Tum ipſe imperator,* QUID PUTAMUS PASSURUM FUISSE, SI VIVERET? *Et Mauricus,* NOBISCUM COENARET. Lib. iv. ep. 22. Juvenal has embalmed this man for poſterity. He deſcribes him as one of Domitian's council, ſitting in deep debate on the important ſubject of the prodigious turbot which had been preſented to the emperor. Though blind, his admiration of the fiſh roſe to ecſtaſy: he turned to the left, when it lay on his right, and gave his advice with the ſolemn wiſdom of a privy counſellor.

> Et cum mortifero veniens Veiento CATULLO,
> Qui nunquam viſæ flagrabat amore puellæ,
> Grande, et conſpicuum noſtro quoque tempore monſtrum,
> Cæcus adulator diruſque a ponte ſatelles,
> Dignus Aricinos qui mendicaret ad axes,
> Blandaque devexæ jactaret baſia rhedæ.
>
> JUVEN. SAT. iv.

Cunning

Cunning Veiento next, and by his ſide
Bloody CATULLUS leaning on his guide;
Decrepid, yet a furious lover he,
And deeply ſmit with charms he could not ſee:
A monſter, that even this worſt age outvies,
Conſpicuous, and above the common ſize;
A blind, baſe flatt'rer, from ſome bridge or gate
Rais'd to a murd'ring miniſter of ſtate;
Deſerving ſtill to beg upon the road,
And bleſs each paſſing waggon, and its load.
DRYDEN'S JUVENAL.

The place, where CATULLUS MESSALINUS attended Domitian in council, was a caſtle near the ancient Alba (now *Albano)*, about twelve miles from Rome. Juvenal ſays,

————Albanam dux magnus in arcem
Traxerat attonitos.————

It was in that retreat that Meſſalinus, at firſt, gave his advice: he was afterwards heard in the ſenate.

(d) Bæbius Maſſa took up the trade of an informer, and roſe to eminence in guilt; but, at the time of Agricola's death, he was under a proſecution for rapine and extortion in the province of Bætica in Spain. Pliny the younger and his friend Herennius Senecio were appointed by the ſenate to conduct the cauſe in behalf of the province. Maſſa was found guilty, and his goods were ordered to be ſecured. It appeared ſoon after that the conſuls were willing to liſten to petitions on the part of Maſſa. Senecio was alarmed. He ſuſpected an intended embezzlement of the culprit's effects, and, to prevent it, deſired Pliny to join him in an application to the conſuls. Pliny complied: they both attended the conſuls. When they had urged all that was proper on the occaſion, Maſſa thought himſelf

himſelf aggrieved by the ſupererogatory zeal of Senecio, and, to revenge himſelf, joined in the clamour againſt Senecio for writing the panegyric of Helvidius Priſcus. Pliny relates the tranſaction to his friend Tacitus in the following manner: *Dederat me Senatus cum Herennio Senecione advocatum provinciæ Bæticæ contra Bæbium Maſſam; damnatoque Maſſâ, cenſuerat ut bona ejus publicè cuſtodirentur. Senecio, cum exploraſſet conſules poſtulationibus vacaturos, convenit me, et quâ concordiâ, inquit, injunctam nobis accuſationem executi ſumus, hac adeamus conſules, petamuſque ne bona diſſipari ſinant, quorum eſſe in cuſtodiâ debent. Tum ego, ſi fixum tibi iſtud ac deliberatum, ſequar te, ut ſi quæ ex hoc invidia, non tua tantum ſit. Venimus ad conſules: dicit Senecio, quæ res ferebat: aliqua ſubjungo. Vixdum conticueramus, et Maſſa, queſtus Senecionem non advocati fidem ſed inimici amaritudinem impleſſe, impietatis reum poſtulat.* Pliny, lib. vii. epiſt. 33. It was the wiſh of Pliny to have the facts inſerted in the Hiſtory of Domitian, which Tacitus was probably writing; but the work is loſt, and Domitian has eſcaped the vengeance of hiſtory. See in this Tract, ſect. ii. note *(b)*. Tacitus ſays that Maſſa was a pernicious enemy to all good men, and the cauſe of many calamities, with which the public was ſorely grieved. *Hiſt.* b. iv. ſ. 50. Martial ſays of Hermogenes, a fellow that pilfered wherever he was admitted, that he did not ſteal more napkins, than Maſſa did pieces of gold.

> Hermogenes tantus mapparum, Pontice, fur eſt,
> Quantus nummorum vix, puto, Maſſa fuit.
> Lib. xii. epig. 29.

(*e*) The reader is not to imagine that this relates to Helvidius Priſcus, who was baniſhed, and murdered

murdered in exile, under the emperor Veſpaſian. See this Tract, ſect. ii. note *(b)*. If the apology, which Suetonius (in Veſpaſ. ſ. 15) makes for the conduct of Veſpaſian, be founded in truth, it is happy for the memory of the emperor: if otherwiſe, Veſpaſian, by his diſſimulation, paid a compliment to virtue. Elizabeth played the ſame card in the execution of Queen Mary. The Helvidius mentioned in this place by Tacitus, was the ſon of the great and good man, ſo often celebrated by Tacitus. See his character, *Hiſt.* b. iv. ſ. 5. See alſo this Tract, ſect. ii. note (*b*). Suetonius ſays, Domitian deſtroyed Helvidius the ſon, becauſe, in a dramatic piece, called PARIS and OENONE, he threw out a ſarcaſtic reflection on the divorce of the emperor. Sueton. *in Domit.* ſ. 10. Publicius Certus was the perſon, who undertook the accuſation of Helvidius the ſon, in the reign of Domitian, A. U. C. 847, A. D. 94. Pliny the younger relates the proceeding with indignation. He ſays a great friendſhip ſubſiſted between him and Helvidius, the ſon; as great as he could cultivate with a perſon, who, in dread of thoſe dangerous times, endeavoured, by living in obſcurity and retirement, to conceal his excellent character, and no leſs remarkable virtues. And, beſides, among the many flagitious acts of thoſe deplorable times, nothing appeared to him more atrocious, than that a ſenator, in the ſenate, ſhould lay hands upon a ſenator; a prætor, upon a man of conſular dignity; a judge, upon a perſon accuſed. *Porro inter multa ſcelera multorum, nullum atrocius videbatur, quam quod in ſenatu, ſenator ſenatori, prætorius conſulari, reo judex manus intuliſſet.* Lib. ix. ep. 13. This explains what Tacitus means, when he ſays, *our own hands led Helvidius to priſon.* As the fathers ſuffered this indignity, Tacitus (who was himſelf

a ſenator) oratorically ſays the whole order did it; our hands dragged him to priſon. It will be proper to add, that Pliny, as ſoon as Domitian was put to death, determined to revenge the cauſe of his injured friend. With that intent, in the very beginning of Nerva's reign, he entered the ſenate, and there brought forward his charge againſt Publicius Certus. The whole aſſembly was thrown into an uproar, and Pliny was, for ſome time, prevented from purſuing the thread of his ſpeech. In the modern phraſe, he was *called to order* by the conſul. When it came regularly to his turn, he renewed the charge, and, by his eloquence, wrought ſuch a wonderful change of ſentiment in the minds of the fathers, that he carried his point, which was to hinder Certus from enjoying the honour of the conſulſhip, to which he then ſtood next in ſucceſſion, for the year of Rome 851, A. D. 98. Pliny's accuſation was in 97. The effect was anſwerable to the wiſh of the public-ſpirited orator; another conſul was appointed in the room of CERTUS, who, in a ſhort time after, was ſeized with his laſt illneſs, and died, according to the report of the time, crying out in his delirious fits, that he ſaw Pliny purſuing him ſword in hand. See the whole account, b. ix. ep. 13.

(f) Mauricus and Arulenus Ruſticus were brothers, united not only by the ties of natural affection, but by their manners and congenial virtues. They were cruelly ſeparated in the ſight of the ſenate, when Ruſticus was hurried away to execution, and Mauricus ordered into baniſhment. An account of the former has been given, ſect. ii. note (*a*). The latter was reſtored to his country in the beginning of Nerva's reign, as appears in Pliny, b. i. ep. 5, where his character is ſaid to be that of a man of ſound ſenſe and judgment;

judgment, formed by experience, and by his deep ſagacity able from paſt events to weigh and meaſure the future. See his anſwer to Nerva, this ſect. note (*c*).

(g) The ſenate, amidſt all theſe tragic iſſues, ſat without voice or ſentiment; a timid and ſpeechleſs aſſembly, as Pliny has it, *Curia timida et elinguis.* They ſubmitted, with paſſive obedience, to the tyrant's will; and therefore Tacitus ſays that their hands were imbrued in the blood of Senecio. See ſect. ii. note *(b)*.

(h) Domitian's complexion was of ſo deep a red, that nothing could add to his natural colour, and he was therefore ſaid by Pliny to be a man of unbluſhing arrogance. See ſect. xxxix. note (*b*). The critics have objected to Tacitus, that, in this place, he ſeems too fond of an antitheſis: he places, they ſay, the ſettled crimſon of a tyrant's countenance, which fortified him againſt all ſhame, in oppoſition to the pale ſickly horror of wretches, who dreaded their final doom from his approach. But if (as we have ſeen, ſect. xxix. note *b)* Pliny, who ſtudied no contraſt, thought the fact worth recording, by what law in Quintilian, or any other good judge of fine writing, was Tacitus to be precluded from an imitation of truth and nature? The fixed vermilion of the cheek was peculiar to Domitian: with other men, a ſudden emotion of anger forces the blood into the face, and nature gives that unerring ſignal. Seneca has obſerved, that men are then chiefly terrible, when the face reddens, and ſhame has thrown out all its ſymptoms. Sylla was then moſt to be dreaded, when his blood ruſhed into his countenance. *Quidam, nunquam magis quam cum erubuerint, timendi ſunt; quaſi omnem verecundiam effuderint. Sylla tunc erat violentiſſimus, cum faciem ejus ſanguis invaſerat.*

Seneca, ep. xi. This was not the caſe of Domitian: a ſettled ferocity glowed on his cheeks, and the men, who knew themſelves marked out for deſtruction, trembled at his approach.

(i) Tacitus and his wife, at the time of Agricola's death, had been four years abſent from Rome; on what account we are no where told. Some critics ſuppoſe, that he was baniſhed by Domitian; but this ſeems to be without foundation. Lipſius is of opinion, that his retreat was voluntary, being a man incapable of beholding, with a paſſive ſpirit, the ſufferings of his fellow-citizens, under a bloody and deſtructive tyrant. The whole of this paſſage, in which the author addreſſes himſelf to Agricola, is, perhaps, as beautiful, as pathetic, and as elegant an apoſtrophe, as can be found in Tully, or any of the moſt admired orators. When the author ſays, *in the laſt glimpſe of light, you looked around with an aſking eye for ſomething that was abſent*, NOVISSIMA IN LUCE DESIDERAVERE ALIQUID OCULI TUI, we feel the ſtroke of tenderneſs; we are tranſported in fancy to the bed-ſide, and we love to gaze on the expiring hero. If Warburton, in the concluſion of the Eſſay on Man, could find the five ſources of the ſublime, we may, with better reaſon, ſay, this apoſtrophe contains them all. Brotier quotes a paſſage from the late King of Pruſſia's funeral oration on Prince Henry of Pruſſia, in which he finds either a fine imitation of Tacitus, or the ſympathy of congenial minds. *O prince! qui ſaviez combien vous m'étiez cher; combien votre perſonne m'étoit précieuſe; ſi la voix des vivans peut ſe faire entendre des morts, prêtez attention à une voix, qui ne vous fut pas inconnue; ſouffrez que ce fragile monûment, le ſeul, hélas! que je puis ériger à votre mémoire,*

mémoire, vous ſoit élevé. See *Eloge du Prince Henri, par S. M. le Roi de Pruſſe.*

Section XLVI.

(*a*) Tacitus, in this place, ſpeaks hypothetically, but with an apparent diſpoſition to embrace the ſyſtem of the beſt and wiſeſt men, and, it may be added, the perſuaſion of mankind in every age and nation. That the ſoul of man is not extinguiſhed with his animal life, but paſſes, in that awful moment, into ſome new region of exiſtence, or tranſmigrates into ſome other being, has been, at all times, the opinion, or the conjecture, or the wiſh of the rudeſt and moſt ſavage tribes; and this univerſal conſent, Cicero obſerves in the firſt Tuſculan, is the law of nature ſpeaking in the human heart. *Omni autem in re conſenſio omnium gentium lex naturæ putanda eſt.* Men of ſtudy and deep ſpeculation adopted what they ſaw rooted in the maſs of the people; and, having no better guide than the dim light of nature, they eſtabliſhed their ſchools of philoſophy, and taught their different ſyſtems. The Socratic and Platonic profeſſors declared for the immortality of the ſoul, and ſome of their proofs are ſhort of nothing but revelation. The Stoic ſect did not embrace the doctrine in its full extent: according to their hypotheſis, certain choſen ſpirits might have their exiſtence prolonged in a future world, but not to eternity. They allowed us, ſays Cicero, the duration of a crow, admitting that the ſoul may exiſt hereafter, but not for ever. *Stoici autem uſuram nobis largiuntur tamquam cornicibus; diu manſuros aiunt animos; ſemper negant. Firſt Tuſculan*, ſ. 32. It was reſerved for Epicurus to deny the attributes of the ſupreme being, and to teach the gloomy doctrine of

of annihilation. That philoſopher, however, did not long make head againſt the general ſenſe of mankind. He gained ſome apoſtates; but their writings have long ſince diſappeared, and their tenets are now ſupported by the poetry of Lucretius only. Macrobius, in his remarks on the SOMNIUM SCIPIONIS of Cicero, has mentioned the triumph of a better and more moral doctrine. The immateriality, he ſays, as well as the immortality of the ſoul has gained the general aſſent. *Obtinuit non minus de incorporalitate animæ, quam de immortalitate ſententia.* Cicero, in various parts of his works, maintained the ſame doctrine, and in one admirable ſentence ſeems to have compreſſed the whole force of the argument. That, he ſays, which feels, which thinks, which deliberates, and wills, is of heavenly origin, and, for that reaſon, muſt be immortal. *Quidquid eſt illud, quod ſentit, quod ſapit, quod vult, quod viget, cœleſte et divinum eſt, ob eamque rem æternum ſit neceſſe eſt.* But this doctrine, amidſt the contentions of dogmatical ſects, was far from being eſtabliſhed; wiſe men embraced it. *Ut ſapientibus placet*, ſays Tacitus, and he may be allowed to have embraced the moſt orthodox opinion. If the immortality of the ſoul was not a ſettled article of his creed, at a time when the light of revelation was not yet diffuſed over the Chriſtian world, it is however probable, that he, who poſſeſſed a comprehenſive and ſublime underſtanding, was not content with the grovelling notion of falling into nothing, but aſpired, and wiſhed, and hoped to enjoy a future ſtate of immortality. He was conſcious of the dignity of human nature, and thence proceeded the fine addreſs to the departed ſpirit of his father-in-law.

(*b*) The text is left by the copyiſts in a mangled condition. The words, as they ſtand, cannot

not be reduced to any kind of ſenſe. *Admiratione te potius, temporalibus laudibus, et, ſi natura ſuppeditet,* MILITUM *decoremus.* Lipſius and Grotius have contributed their aſſiſtance. The former reads, *Admiratione te potius, te temporalibus laudibus*; and (inſtead of *militum*, which is totally unintelligible) Grotius adds, *ſimilitudine decoremus.* Out of the word *ſimilitudine* a bad tranſcriber might make *militum.* La Bletterie thinks it might be *æmulatu*, and that conjecture has been adopted in the tranſlation.

(*c*) Cicero has a ſentiment analogous to what is here ſaid by Tacitus. Servius Sulpicius could leave no monument equal to the portrait of his manners, his virtue, his conſtancy, and his talents, which ſtill ſurvived in his ſon. *Nullum monimentum clarius Servius Sulpicius relinquere potuerat, quam effigiem morum ſuorum virtutis, conſtantiæ, ingenii, filium.* See the *Tenth Philippic.* Martial, in an elegant epigram, wiſhes that the painter's art could delineate the manners and the mind of his friend: that would make the beſt picture in the world.

Ars utinam mores animumque effingere poſſet;
Pulchrior in terris nulla tabella foret.
Lib. x. epig. 32.

(*d*) So we read in Horace:

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi; ſed omnes illachrymabiles
Urgentur, ignotique longâ
Nocte, carent quia vate ſacro: Lib. iv. ode 9.

Vain was the chief's, the ſage's pride;
They had no poet, and they died:
In vain they ſchem'd, in vain they bled;
They had no poet, and are dead. POPE.

(*e*) Pliny,

(*e*) Pliny, the conſul, returned thanks to Tacitus for deſiring an account of the elder Pliny's death, that he might tranſmit it with truth to poſterity. His uncle, he ſays, if celebrated by ſuch a writer, will be immortal. Pliny, b. vi. epiſt. 16. That part, however, of our author's works has not come down to us, and the prophecy has ſo far failed. The prediction of Tacitus is completely verified: Agricola is rendered immortal; he lives in the hiſtorian's page, and will continue to do ſo, as long as men retain a taſte for the beſt and trueſt model of biography.

END OF THE NOTES

ON THE

LIFE OF AGRICOLA.

NOTES

ON THE

DIALOGUE

CONCERNING

ORATORY.

NOTES

ON

THE DIALOGUE

CONCERNING

ORATORY.

THE ſcene of the following Dialogue is laid in the ſixth year of Veſpaſian, A. U. C. 828, A. D. 75. The commentators are much divided in their opinions about the real author: his work they all agree is a maſterpiece in the kind; written with taſte and judgment; entertaining, profound, and elegant. But whether it is to be aſcribed to Tacitus, Quintilian, or any other perſon, whom they cannot name, is a queſtion upon which they have exhauſted a ſtore of learning. They have given us, according to their cuſtom, much controverſy, and little deciſion. In this field

field of conjecture Lipsius led the way. He published, in 1574, the first good edition of Tacitus, with judicious emendations of the text, and notes to illustrate every passage which he thought wanted explanation. He was, beyond all question, a man of genius and great erudition. He, and Casaubon, and Scaliger, were called the triumvirate of literature. Lipsius, however, stands distinguished by his taste, and his politeness. Commentators in general seem to think, as Doctor Bentley expressed it, that *they are riding to posterity upon the back of an ancient*; and being well mounted, they imagine that to prance, and shew all their paces, and dash through thick and thin, and bespatter all who come in their way, is the true dignity of a critic. Lipsius was not of this class: to great learning he united a fine taste, and polished manners. He thought for himself, and he decided with candour; never dogmatical, or presuming to dictate to others. He says expressly, *Dico me*; *nam aliis nihil præeo quod sequantur*. With regard to the present Dialogue, had it not come down to us in a mutilated state, he pronounces it in point of style, beauty of invention, and sound judgment, equal to the best models of antiquity. But who was the real author seems to him a problem not easy to be solved. He sees nothing of the manner peculiar to Tacitus: in the place of brevity, he finds diffusive periods, and the rich, the florid, and the amplified sentence, instead of the concise, the close and nervous. An author, he admits, may, by continued practice, acquire a cast of thought and expression not to be found in his early productions; but still he must retain some traces of his original manner. The age of Tacitus does not seem to him to correspond with the time, when the speakers in the Dialogue met to discuss the

the queſtion. Tacitus, he ſays, was promoted by Veſpaſian, and from that circumſtance he infers that he was not ſo young, as the writer of the Dialogue repreſents himſelf in the firſt ſection. He once thought that Quintilian had the beſt claim, ſince that writer, in the introduction to the ſixth book of his Inſtitutes, ſays expreſsly that he publiſhed a treatiſe on the ſubject: *Librum, quem de cauſis corruptæ eloquentiæ emiſi:* but, upon due reflection, Lipſius fairly owns, that Quintilian, in the ſixth of Veſpaſian, was far from being a young man. He adds, whether it be aſcribed to Tacitus, or Quintilian, no inconvenience can ariſe, ſince the tract itſelf is beautiful: but, as to himſelf, his doubts are not removed; he ſtill remains in ſuſpenſe. *Cum multa dixerim, claudo tamen omnia hoc reſponſo;* MIHI NON LIQUERE. Gronovius, Pichena, Ryckius, Rhenanus, and others, have entered warmly into the diſpute. An elegant modern writer has hazarded a new conjecture. The laſt of Sir Thomas Fitzoſborne's Letters is a kind of preface to Mr. Melmoth's Tranſlation of the Dialogue before us. He ſays, of all the converſation-pieces, whether ancient or modern, either of the moral or polite kind, he knows not one more elegantly written than the little anonymous Dialogue concerning the riſe and decline of eloquence among the Romans. He calls it anonymous, though he is aware, that it has been aſcribed not only to Tacitus, and Quintilian, but even to Suetonius. The reaſons, however, are ſo inconcluſive, that he is inclined to give it to the younger Pliny. He thinks it perfectly coincides with Pliny's age; it is addreſſed to one of his particular friends, and is marked with ſimilar expreſſions and ſentiments. But, with all due ſubmiſſion to Mr. Melmoth, his new candidate can-

not long hold us in ſuſpenſe. It appears in the account of the eruption of Mount Veſuvius, in which Pliny's uncle loſt his life, A. U. C. 832, A. D. 79, that Pliny was then eighteen years old, and, as the Dialogue was in 828, he could then be no more than fourteen; a time of life, when he was neither fit to be admitted to a learned debate, nor capable of underſtanding it. Beſides this, two letters to his friend FABIUS are ſtill extant; one in the firſt book, epiſt. 11; the other, book vii. epiſt. 2. No mention of the Dialogue occurs in either of thoſe letters, nor in any other part of his works; a circumſtance, which could ſcarce have happened to a writer ſo tenderly anxious about his literary character, if the work in queſtion had been the production of his pen. Brotier, the laſt, and, it may be ſaid, the beſt of all the editors of Tacitus, is of opinion that a tract, ſo beautiful and judicious, ought not, without better reaſons than have been as yet aſſigned, to be adjudged from Tacitus to any other writer. He relies much on the firſt edition, which was publiſhed at Venice (1468), containing the ſix laſt books of the Annals (the ſix firſt not being then found), the five books of the Hiſtory, and the Dialogue, intitled, *Cornelii Taciti Equitis Romani Dialogus de Oratoribus claris.* There were alſo, in the Vatican, manuſcript copies of the Dialogue *de Oratoribus.* In 1515, when the ſix firſt Annals were found in Germany, a new edition, under the patronage of Leo X. was publiſhed by Beroaldus, carefully collated with the manuſcript, which was afterwards placed in the Florentine Library. Thoſe early authorities preponderate with Brotier againſt all modern conjecture; more eſpecially, ſince the age of Tacitus agrees with the time of the Dialogue. He was four years older than his friend Pliny,

and,

and, at eighteen, might properly be allowed by his friends to be of their party. In two years afterwards (A. U. 830), he married Agricola's daughter, and he expreſsly ſays (Life of Agricola, ſect. ix.), that he was then a very young man. The arguments, drawn by the ſeveral commentators from the difference of ſtyle, Brotier thinks are of no weight. The ſtyle of a young author will naturally differ from what he has ſettled by practice at an advanced period of life. This has been obſerved in many eminent writers, and in none more than Lipſius himſelf. His language, in the outſet, was eaſy, flowing, and elegant; but, as he advanced in years, it became ſtiff, abrupt, and harſh. Tacitus relates a converſation on a literary ſubject; and in ſuch a piece, who can expect to find the ſtyle of an hiſtorian or an annaliſt? For theſe reaſons Brotier thinks that this Dialogue may, with good reaſon, be aſcribed to Tacitus. The tranſlator enters no farther into the controverſy, than to ſay, that in a caſe, where certainty cannot be obtained, we muſt reſt ſatisfied with the beſt evidence the nature of the thing will admit. The diſpute is of no importance; for, as Lipſius ſays, whether we give the Dialogue to Quintilian or to Tacitus, no inconvenience can ariſe. Whoever was the author, it is a performance of uncommon beauty.

Before we cloſe this introduction, it will not be improper to ſay a word or two about Brotier's ſupplement. In the wreck of ancient literature a conſiderable part of this Dialogue has periſhed, and, by conſequence, a chaſm is left, much to be lamented by every reader of taſte. To avoid the inconvenience of a broken context, Brotier has endeavoured to compenſate for the loſs. What he has added, will be found in the progreſs of the work; and as it is executed by the learned editor

with great elegance, and equal probability, it is hoped that the inſertion of it will be more agreeable to the reader, than a dull pauſe of melancholy regret.

Section I.

(*a*) Juſtus Fabius was conſul A. U. C. 864, A. D. 111. But as he did not begin the year, his name does not appear in the FASTI CONSULARES. There are two letters to him from his friend Pliny; the firſt, lib. i. epiſt. 11; the other, lib. vii. ep. 2. It is remarkable that, in the laſt, the author talks of ſending ſome of his writings for his friend's peruſal; *quæram quid potiſſimum ex nugis meis tibi exhibeam*; but not a word is ſaid about the decline of eloquence.

Section II.

(*a*) Concerning Maternus nothing is known with any kind of certainty. Dio relates that a ſophiſt, of that name, was put to death by Domitian, for a ſchool declamation againſt tyrants; but not one of the commentators ventures to aſſert that he was the *Curiatius Maternus*, who makes ſo conſpicuous a figure in the Dialogue before us.

(*b*) No mention is made of Marcus Aper, either by Quintilian or Pliny. It is ſuppoſed that he was father of Marcus Flavius Aper, who was ſubſtituted conſul A. U. C. 883, A. D. 130. His oratorical character, and that of Secundus, as we find them drawn in this ſection, are not unlike what we are told by Cicero of Craſſus and Antonius. Craſſus, he ſays, was not willing to be thought deſtitute of literature, but he wiſhed to have it ſaid of him, that he deſpiſed it, and preferred

ferred the good ſenſe of the Romans to the refinements of Greece. Antonius, on the other hand, was of opinion that his fame would riſe to greater magnitude, if he was conſidered as a man wholly illiterate, and void of education. In this manner they both expected to increaſe their popularity; the former, by deſpiſing the Greeks, and the latter by not knowing them. *Fuit hoc in utroque eorum, ut Craſſus non tam exiſtimari vellet non didiciſſe, quam illa deſpicere, et noſtrorum hominum in omni genere prudentiam Græcis anteferre. Antonius autem probabiliorem populo orationem fore cenſebat ſuam, ſi omninò didiciſſe nunquam putaretur; atque ita ſe uterque graviorem fore, ſi alter contemnere, alter ne noſſe quidem Græcos videretur.* Cicero *De Orat.* lib. ii. cap. 1.

(*c*) Quintilian makes honourable mention of Julius Secundus, who, if he had not been prematurely cut off, would have tranſmitted his name to poſterity among the moſt celebrated orators. He would have added, and he was daily doing it, whatever was requiſite to complete his oratorical genius; and all that could be deſired, was more vigour in argument, and more attention to matter and ſentiment than to the choice of words. But he died too ſoon, and his fame was, in ſome degree, intercepted. He has, notwithſtanding, left a conſiderable name. His diction was rich and copious; he explained every thing with grace and elegance; his periods flowed with a ſuavity, that charmed his audience; his language, when metaphorical, was bold, yet accurate; and, if he hazarded an unuſual phraſe, he was juſtified by the energy with which his meaning was conveyed. *Julio Secundo, ſi longior contigiſſet ætas, clariſſimum profecto nomen oratoris apud poſteros foret. Adjeciſſet enim, atque adjiciebat, cæteris virtutibus ſuis, quod deſiderari po-*

teſt; *id eſt autem, ut eſſet multo magis pugnax, et ſæpius ad curam rerum ab elocutione reſpiceret. Cæterum interceptus quoque magnum ſibi vindicat locum. Ea eſt facundia, tanta in explicando, quod velit, gratia*; *tam candidum, et lene, et ſpecioſum dicendi genus*; *tanta verborum, etiam quæ aſſumpta ſunt, proprietas*; *tanta in quibuſdam, ex periculo petitis, ſignificantia.* Quintil. lib. x. ſ. 1. It is remarkable, that Quintilian, in his liſt of Roman orators, has neither mentioned Maternus, nor Marcus Aper. The Dialogue, for that reaſon, ſeems to be improperly aſcribed to him: men, who figure ſo much in the enquiry concerning oratory, would not have been omitted by the critic, who thought their converſation worth recording.

Section III.

(*a*) Thyeſtes was a common and popular ſubject of ancient tragedy.

> Indignatur item privatis, et prope ſocco
> Dignis carminibus narrari ſcena Thyeſtæ.
> HORAT. ARS POET. ver. 90.

(*b*) It was the cuſtom of the colonies, and municipal towns, to pay their court to ſome great orator at Rome, in order to obtain his patronage, whenever they ſhould have occaſion to apply to the ſenate for a redreſs of grievances.

(*c*) Domitius was another ſubject of tragedy, taken from the Roman ſtory. Who he was does not clearly appear. Brotier thinks it was Domitius, the avowed enemy of Julius Cæſar, who moved in the ſenate, for a law to recall that general from the command of the army in Gaul, and, afterwards, on the breaking out of the civil war, fell bravely at the battle of Pharſalia. See Suetonius,

tonius, Life of Nero, ſection 2. Such a character might furniſh the ſubject of a tragedy. The Roman poets were in the habit of enriching their drama with domeſtic occurrences, and the practice was applauded by Horace.

> Nec minimum meruêre decus, veſtigia Græca
> Auſi deſere, et celebrare domeſtica facta.
>
> ARS POET. ver. 286.

> No path to fame our poets left untried:
> Nor ſmall their merit, when with conſcious pride
> They ſcorn'd to take from Greece the ſtoried theme,
> But dar'd to ſing their own domeſtic fame.
>
> FRANCIS'S HORACE.

Section V.

(*a*) There were at Rome ſeveral eminent men of the name of Baſſus. With regard to the perſon, here called Saleius Baſſus, the commentators have not been able to glean much information. Some have contended that it was to him Perſius addreſſed his ſixth ſatire:

> Admovit jam bruma foco te, Baſſe, Sabino.

But if we may believe the old ſcholiaſt, his name was CÆSIUS BASSUS, a much admired lyric poet, who was living on his own farm, at the time when Mount Veſuvius diſcharged its torrents of fire, and made the country round a ſcene of deſolation. The poet and his houſe were overwhelmed by the eruption of the lava, which happened A. U. 832. in the reign of Titus. Quintilian ſays of him (b. x. chap. 1.), that if after Horace any poet deſerves to be mentioned, Cæſius Baſſus was the man. *Si quem adjicere velis, is erit Cæſius Baſſus.*

Saleius Baſſus is mentioned by Juvenal as an eminent poet in diſtreſs:

> ——————At Serrano tenuique Saleio
> Gloria quantalibet quid erit, ſi gloria tantum eſt?
> SAT. vii. ver. 80.

> But to poor Baſſus what avails a name,
> To ſtarve on compliments and empty fame?
> DRYDEN'S JUVENAL.

Quintilian ſays, he poſſeſſed a poetic genius, but ſo warm and vehement, that, even in an advanced age, his ſpirit was not under the controul of ſober judgment. *Vehemens et poeticum ingenium* SALEII BASSI *fuit*; *nec ipſum ſenectute maturum.* This paſſage affords an inſuperable argument againſt Lipſius, and the reſt of the critics, who named Quintilian as a candidate for the honour of this elegant compoſition. Can it be imagined that a writer, of fair integrity, would in his great work ſpeak of Baſſus as he deſerved, and in the Dialogue overrate him beyond all proportion? Duplicity was not a part of Quintilian's character.

(*b*) Tacitus, it may be preſumed with good reaſon, was a diligent reader of Cicero, Livy, Salluſt, and Seneca. He has, in various parts of his works, coincidences of ſentiment and diction, that plainly ſhew the ſource from which they ſprung. In the preſent caſe, when he calls eloquence a buckler to protect yourſelf, and a weapon to annoy your adverſary, can any one doubt but he had his eye on the following ſentence in *Cicero de Oratore? Quid autem tam neceſſarium, quam tenere ſemper arma, quibus vel tectus ipſe eſſe poſſis, vel provocare integros, et te ulciſci laceſſitus?*

(*c*) Eprius

(*c*) Eprius Marcellus is often a conſpicuous figure in the Annals and the Hiſtory of Tacitus. To a bad heart he united the gift of eloquence. In the Annals, b. xvi. ſ. 28, he makes a vehement ſpeech againſt Pætus Thraſea, and afterwards wrought the deſtruction of that excellent man. For that exploit, he was attacked, in the beginning of Veſpaſian's reign, by Helvidius Priſcus. In the Hiſtory (book iv. ſ. 7 and 8) we ſee them both engaged in a violent contention. In the following year (823), Helvidius in the ſenate opened an accuſation in form; but Marcellus, by uſing his eloquence as his buckler and his offenſive weapon, was able to ward off the blow. He roſe from his ſeat, and, "I leave you, he ſaid, I leave you to give the law to the ſenate: reign, if you will, even in the preſence of the prince." See Hiſt. iv. ſ. 43. See alſo, Life of Agricola, ſ. 11, notes (*a*) and (*b*).

Section VI.

(*a*) To be rich, and have no iſſue, gave to the perſon ſo circumſtanced the higheſt conſequence at Rome. All ranks of men paid their court to him. To diſcourage a life of celibacy, and promote population, Auguſtus paſſed a law, called *Papia Poppæa*, whereby bachelors were ſubjected to penalties. Hence the compliment paid by Horace to his patron:

Diva producas ſobolem, patrumque
Proſperes decreta ſuper jugandis
Fœminis, proliſque novæ feraci
Lege marita.

CARMEN SÆCULARE.

Bring

Bring the ſpringing birth to light,
And with ev'ry genial grace
Prolific of an endleſs race,
Oh! crown our vows, and bleſs the nuptial rite.
FRANCIS's HORACE.

But marriage was not brought into faſhion. In proportion to the rapid degeneracy of the manners under the emperors, celibacy grew into reſpect; inſomuch, that we find (Annals xii. ſ. 52.) a man too ſtrong for his proſecutors, becauſe he was rich, old, and childleſs. *Valuitque pecuniosâ orbitate et senectâ.*

(*b*) The faculty of ſpeaking on a ſudden queſtion, with unpremeditated eloquence, Quintilian ſays, is the reward of ſtudy and diligent application. The ſpeech, compoſed at leiſure, will often want the warmth and energy, which accompany the rapid emotions of the mind. The paſſions, when rouſed and animated, and the images, which preſent themſelves in a glow of enthuſiaſm, are the inſpirers of true eloquence. Compoſition has not always this happy effect: the proceſs is ſlow; languor is apt to ſucceed; the paſſions ſubſide, and the ſpirit of the diſcourſe evaporates. *Maximus vero ſtudiorum fructus eſt, et velut præmium quoddam ampliſſimum longi laboris, ex tempore dicendi facultas. Pectus eſt enim, quod diſertos facit, et vis mentis. Nam benè concepti affectus, et recentes rerum imagines continuo impetu feruntur, quæ nonnunquam morâ ſtili refrigeſcunt, et dilatæ non revertuntur,* Quintilian, lib. x. cap. 7.

Section VII.

(*a*) The tranſlation is not quite accurate in this place. The original ſays, when I obtained the *laticlave*,

laticlave, and the Engliſh calls it, the *manly gown*, which, it muſt be admitted, is not the exact ſenſe. The *toga virilis*, or the *manly gown*, was aſſumed, when the youth came to man's eſtate, or the age of ſeventeen years. On that occaſion the friends of the young man conducted him to the *forum* (or ſometimes to the capitol), and there inveſted him with the new gown. This was called *dies tirocinii*; the day, on which he commenced a *tiro*, or a candidate for preferment in the army. The *laticlave* was an additional honour often granted at the ſame time. The ſons of ſenators and patricians were entitled to that diſtinction, as a matter of right: but the young men, deſcended from ſuch as were not patricians, did not wear the *laticlave*, till they entered into the ſervice of the commonwealth, and undertook the functions of the civil magiſtracy. Auguſtus Cæſar changed that cuſtom. He gave leave to the ſons of ſenators, in general, to aſſume the *laticlave*, preſently after the time of putting on the *toga virilis*, though they were not capable of civil honours. The emperors, who ſucceeded, allowed the ſame privilege, as a favour to illuſtrious families. *Ovid* ſpeaks of himſelf and his brother aſſuming the *manly gown* and the *laticlave* at the ſame time:

> Interea, tacito paſſu labentibus annis,
> Liberior fratri ſumpta mihique toga;
> Induiturque humeris cum lato purpura clavo.

Pliny the younger ſhews, that the *laticlave* was a favour granted by the emperor on particular occaſions. He ſays, he applied for his friend, and ſucceeded: *Ego ſexto latumclavum a Cæſare noſtro impetravi.* Lib. ii. epiſt. 9. The *latuſclavus* was a robe worn by conſuls, prætors, generals in triumph, and ſenators, who were called *laticlavii*. Their

Their ſons were admitted to the ſame honour; but the emperors had a power to beſtow this garment of diſtinction, and all privileges belonging to it, upon ſuch as they thought worthy of that honour. This is what Marcus Aper ſays, in the Dialogue, that he obtained; and, when the tranſlation mentions the *manly gown*, the expreſſion falls ſhort of the ſpeaker's idea. Dacier has given an account of the *laticlave*, which has been well received by the learned. He tells us, that whatever was made to be put on another thing, was called *clavus*, not becauſe it had any reſemblance to a nail, but becauſe it was made an adjunct to another ſubject. In fact, the *clavi* were purple galloons, with which the Romans bordered the fore part of the tunic, on both ſides, and, when drawn cloſe together, they formed an ornament in the middle of the veſtment. It was, for that reaſon, called by the Greeks, μεσοπόρφυρον. The broad galloons made the *laticlave*, and the narrow the *anguſticlave*. The *laticlave*, Dacier adds, is not to be confounded with the *prætexta*. The latter was, at firſt, appropriated to the magiſtrates, and the ſacerdotal order; but, in time, was extended to the ſons of eminent families, to be worn, as a mark of diſtinction, till the age of ſeventeen, when it was laid aſide for the *manly gown*. See Dacier's *Horace*, lib. i. ſat. 5; and ſee Kennet's *Roman Antiquities*, p. 306.

(*b*) Marcus Aper, Julius Secundus, and Curiatius Maternus, according to Brotier and others, were natives of Gaul. Aper (ſection x.) mentions the Gauls as their common countrymen: *Ne quid de Gallis noſtris loquamur*. If that was the fact, a *new man* at Rome would have difficulties to ſurmount. Ammianus Marcellinus (a Latin hiſtorian of the fourth century) ſays, that at Rome the

the people deſpiſed every thing that did not grow before their eyes within the walls of the city, except the rich who had no children; and the veneration paid to ſuch as had no heirs was altogether incredible. *Vile eſſe quidquid extra urbis pomœrium naſcitur, æſtimant; nec credi poteſt qua obſequiorum diverſitate coluntur homines ſine liberis Romæ.* Lib. xiv. ſ. 5. In ſuch a city a young man and a ſtranger could not expect to be favoured.

(*c*) All cauſes of a private nature were heard before the *centumviri*. Three were choſen out of every tribe, and the tribes amounted to five-and-thirty, ſo that in fact 105 were choſen; but, for the ſake of a round number, they were called CENTUMVIRI. The cauſes that were heard before that juriſdiction are enumerated by Cicero, *De Orat.* lib. i. ſ. 38.

(*d*) The tranſlation ſays, *the wills and codicils of the rich*; but it is by no means certain that thoſe words convey the meaning of the text, which ſimply ſays, *nec codicillis datur*. After due enquiry, it appears that *codicillus* was uſed by the Latin authors, what we now call *the letters patent of a prince*. Codicils, in the modern ſenſe of the word, implying a ſupplement to a will, were unknown to the ancient Roman law. The Twelve Tables mention teſtaments only. Codicils, in aid to wills, were firſt introduced in the time of Auguſtus; but, whatever their operation was, legacies granted by thoſe additional writings were for ſome time of no validity. To confirm this, we are told that the daughter of Lentulus diſcharged certain legacies, which, being given by codicil, ſhe was not bound to pay. In time, however, codicils, as an addition made by the teſtator to his will, grew into uſe, and the legacies thereby granted were confirmed. This might be

be the caſe in the ſixth year of Veſpaſian, when the Dialogue paſſed between the parties; but it is, notwithſtanding, highly probable, that the word *codicilli* means, in the paſſage before us, the *letters patent of the prince.* It is uſed in that ſenſe by Suetonius, who relates, that Tiberius, after paſſing a night and two days in revelling with Pomponius Flaccus and Lucius Piſo, granted to the former the province of Syria, and made the latter præfect of the city; declaring them, *in the patents*, pleaſant companions, and *the friends of all hours. Codicillis quoque jucundiſſimos et omnium horarum amicos profeſſus.* Suet. *in Tib.* ſ. 42.

(*e*) The common people are called, in the original, *tunicatus populus*; that claſs of men, who wore the *tunic*, and not the *toga*, or the *Roman gown.* The *tunica*, or cloſe coat, was the common garment worn within doors, and abroad, under the *toga.* Kennet ſays, the *proletarii*, the *capite cenſi*, and the reſt of the dregs of the city, could not afford to wear the *toga*, and therefore went in their *tunics*; whence Horace ſays (lib. i. epiſt. 7),

Vilia vendentem tunicato ſcruta popello.

The TOGA, however, was the peculiar dreſs of the Roman people. VIRGIL diſtinguiſhes his countrymen by their mode of apparel:

Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam.

But, though this was the Roman habit, the lower citizens were obliged to appear abroad in their *tunica*, or cloſe garment. The love of praiſe is ſo eager a paſſion, that the public orator is here repreſented as delighting in the applauſe of the rabble.

rabble. Perſius, the ſatiriſt, has ſaid the ſame thing:

Pulchrum eſt digito monſtrari, et dicier, Hic EST.

Section VIII.

(*a*) The character of Eprius Marcellus has been already ſtated, ſection v. note (*c*). Criſpus Vibius is mentioned as a man of weight and influence, *Annals*, book xiv. ſ. 28. Quintilian has mentioned him to his advantage: he calls him, book v. chap. 13, a man of agreeable and elegant talents, *vir ingenii jucundi et elegantis*; and again, Vibius Criſpus was diſtinguiſhed by the elegance of his compoſition, and the ſweetneſs of his manner; a man born to pleaſe, but fitter for private ſuits, than for the importance of public cauſes. *Et* VIBIUS CRISPUS, *compoſitus, et jucundus, et delectationi natus; privatis tamen cauſis, quam publicis, melior.* Lib. x. cap. 1.

(*b*) Which of theſe two men was born at Capua, and which at Vercellæ, is not clearly expreſſed in the original. Eprius Marcellus, who has been deſcribed of a prompt and daring ſpirit, ready to embark in every miſchief, and by his eloquence able to give colour to the worſt cauſe, muſt at this time have become a new man, ſince we find him mentioned in this Dialogue with unbounded praiſe. He, it ſeems, and Vibius Criſpus were the favourites at Veſpaſian's court. Vercellæ, now *Verceil*, was ſituated in the eaſtern part of Piedmont. *Capua*, rendered famous by Hannibal, was a city in Campania, always deemed the ſeat of pleaſure.

(*c*) Veſpaſian

(*c*) Veſpaſian is ſaid to have been, what is uncommon among ſovereign princes, a patient hearer of truth. His attention to men of letters may be conſidered as a proof of that aſſertion. The younger Pliny tells us, that his uncle, the author of the Natural Hiſtory, uſed to viſit Veſpaſian before day-light, and gained admittance to the emperor, who devoted his nights to ſtudy. *Ante lucem ibat ad Veſpaſianum imperatorem: nam ille quoque noctibus utebatur.* Lib. iii. epiſt. 5.

Section IX.

(*a*) Agamemnon and Jaſon were two favourite dramatic ſubjects with the Roman poets. After their example, the moderns ſeem to have been enamoured with thoſe two Grecian heroes. Racine has diſplayed the former, in his tragedy of Iphigenia, and the late Mr. Thomſon in a performance of great merit, entitled Agamemnon. Corneille, and the late Mr. Glover, thought Jaſon and Medea worthy of their talents.

(*b*) Saleius Baſſus has been already mentioned, ſ. v. note (*a*). It may be added in this place, that the critics of his time concurred in giving him the warmeſt praiſe, not only as a good and excellent man, but alſo as an eminent and admirable poet. He was deſcended from a family of diſtinction, but was poor and often diſtreſſed. Whether he or Cæſius Baſſus was the friend of Perſius, is not perfectly clear. Be the fact as it may, the ſatiriſt deſcribes a fine poet, and his verſes were applicable to either of them:

> Jamne lyrâ, et tetrico vivunt tibi pectine chordæ?
> Mire opifex numeris veterum primordia rerum,
>
> Atque

Atque marem ſtrepitum fidis intendiſſe Latinæ;
Mox juvenes agitare jocos, et pollice honeſto
Egregios luſiſſe ſenes.

PERSUIS, ſat. vi.

(*c*) Before the invention of printing, copies were not eaſily multiplied. Authors were eager to enjoy their fame, and the pen of the tranſcriber was ſlow and tedious. Public rehearſals were the road to fame. But an audience was to be drawn together by intereſt, by ſolicitation, and public advertiſements. Pliny, in one of his letters, has given a lively deſcription of the difficulties which the author had to ſurmount. This year, he ſays, has produced poets in great abundance. Scarce a day has paſſed in the month of April, without the recital of a poem. But the greater part of the audience comes with reluctance; they loiter in the lobbies, and there enter into idle chat, occaſionally deſiring to know, whether the poet is in his pulpit? has he begun? is his preface over? has he almoſt finiſhed? They condeſcended, at laſt, to enter the room; they looked round with an air of indifference, and ſoon retired, ſome by ſtealth, and others with open contempt. Hence the greater praiſe is due to thoſe authors, who do not ſuffer their genius to droop, but, on the contrary, amidſt the moſt diſcouraging circumſtances, ſtill perſiſt to cultivate the liberal arts. Pliny adds, that he himſelf attended all the public readings, and, for that purpoſe, ſtaid longer in the city than was uſual with him. Being, at length, releaſed, he intended, in his rural retreat, to finiſh a work of his own, but not to read it in public, leſt he ſhould be thought to claim a return of the civility, which he had ſhewn to others. He was a hearer, and not a creditor. The favour conferred, if redemanded, ceaſes to be a favour. *Magnum proventum poetarum annus hic attulit. Toto menſe Aprili*

Aprili nullus fere dies, quo non recitaret aliquis. Tametsi ad audiendum pigre coitur. Plerique in stationibus sedent, tempusque audiendis fabulis conterunt, ac subinde sibi nuntiari jubent, an jam recitator intraverit, an dixerit præfationem, an ex magnâ parte evolverit librum? Tum demum, ac tunc quoque lentè, cunctanterque veniunt, nec tamen remanent, sed ante finem recedunt; alii dissimulanter, ac furtim; alii simpliciter, ac liberè. Sed tanto magis laudandi probandique sunt, quos a scribendi recitandique studio hæc auditorum vel desidia, vel superbia non retardat. Equidem prope nemini defui: his ex causis longius, quam destinaveram, tempus in urbe consumpsi. Possum jam repetere secessum, et scribere aliquid, quod non recitem, ne videar, quorum recitationibus affui, non auditor fuisse, sed creditor. Nam, ut in cæteris rebus, ita in audiendi officio, perit gratia, si reposcatur. Pliny, lib. i. ep. 13. Such was the state of literature under the worst of the emperors. The Augustan age was over. In the reigns of Tiberius and Caligula learning drooped, but in some degree revived under the dull and stupid Claudius. Pliny, in the letter above cited, says of that emperor, that, one day hearing a noise in his palace, he enquired what was the cause, and, being informed that Nonianus was reciting in public, went immediately to the place, and became one of the audience. After that time letters met with no encouragement from the great. Lord Shaftesbury says, he cannot but wonder how the Romans, after the extinction of the *Cæsarean* and *Claudian* family, and a short interval of princes raised and destroyed with much disorder and public ruin, were able to regain their perishing dominion, and retrieve their sinking state, by an afterrace of wise and able princes, successively adopted, and taken from a private state to rule the em-

pire of the world. They were men, who not only poſſeſſed the military virtues, and ſupported that ſort of diſcipline in the higheſt degree; but as they ſought the intereſt of the world, they did what was in their power to reſtore liberty, and raiſe again the periſhing arts, and the decayed virtue of mankind. But the ſeaſon was paſt: *barbarity* and *gothiciſm* were already entered into the arts, ere the ſavages made an impreſſion on the empire. See *Advice to an Author*, part ii. ſ. 1. The *gothiciſm*, hinted at by Shafteſbury, appears manifeſtly in the wretched ſituation, to which the beſt authors were reduced. The poets, who could not hope to procure an audience, haunted the baths and public walks, in order to faſten on their friends, and, at any rate, obtain a hearing for their works. Juvenal ſays, the plantations and marble columns of Julius Fronto reſounded with the vociferation of reciting poets:

> Frontonis platani convulſaque marmora clamant
> Semper, et aſſiduo ruptæ lectore columnæ.
> Expectes eadem a ſummo minimoque poetâ.
>
> SAT. i. ver. 12.

The ſame author obſerves, that the poet, who aſpired to literary fame, might borrow an houſe for the purpoſe of a public reading: and the great man, who accommodated the writer, might arrange his friends and freedmen on the back ſeats, with direction not to be ſparing of their applauſe; but ſtill a ſtage or pulpit, with convenient benches, was to be procured, and that expence the patrons of letters would not ſupply.

> ——————At ſi dulcedine famæ
> Contentus recites, Maculonus commodat ædes.
> Scit dare libertos extremâ in parte ſedentes
> Ordinis, et magnas comitum diſponere voces.
> Nemo dabit procerum, quanti ſubſellia conſtent.
>
> SAT. vii. ver. 39.

Statius,

Statius, in Juvenal's time, was a favourite poet. If he announced a reading, his auditors went in crowds. He delighted all degrees and ranks of men; but when the hour of applauſe was over, the author was obliged to ſell a tragedy to Paris, the famous actor, in order to procure a dinner.

> Curritur ad vocem jucundam, et carmen amicæ
> Thebaidos, lætam fecit cum Statius urbem,
> Promiſitque diem: tantâ dulcedine vulgi
> Auditur; ſed cum fregit ſubſellia verſu,
> Eſurit, intactam Paridi niſi vendit Agaven.
>
> SAT. vii. ver. 82.

This was the hard lot of poetry, and this the ſtate of public reading, which Aper deſcribes to his friend Maternus.

Section X.

(*a*) Horace has the ſame obſervation:

> ——————Mediocribus eſſe poetis
> Non Dii, non homines, non conceſſêre columnæ.
>
> ART OF POETRY, ver. 372.

> But God and man, and letter'd poſt denies,
> That poets ever are of middling ſize.
>
> FRANCIS's HORACE.

(*b*) Notwithſtanding all that is ſaid, in this Dialogue, of Saleius Baſſus, it does not appear, in the judgment of Quintilian, that he was a poet, whoſe fame could extend itſelf to the diſtant provinces. Perfection in the kind is neceſſary. Livy, the hiſtorian, was at the head of his profeſſion. In conſequence of his vaſt reputation, we know from Pliny, the conſul, that a native of the city of Cadiz was ſo ſtruck with the character of that great writer, that he made a journey

ney to Rome, with no other intent, than to ſee that celebrated genius; and, having gratified his curioſity, without ſtaying to view the wonders of that magnificent city, returned home perfectly ſatisfied. *Nunquamne legiſti Gaditanum quendam Titi Livii nomine gloriâque commotum, ad viſendum eum ab ultimo terrarum orbe veniſſe, ſtatimque, ut viderat, abiiſſe?* Lib. ii. epiſt. 3.

(c) In Homer and Virgil, as well as in the dramatic poets of the firſt order, we frequently have paſſages of real eloquence, with the difference which Quintilian mentions: the poet, he ſays, is a ſlave to the meaſure of his verſe; and, not being able at all times to make uſe of the true and proper word, he is obliged to quit the natural and eaſy way of expreſſion, and avail himſelf of new modes and turns of phraſeology, ſuch as tropes, and metaphors, with the liberty of tranſpoſing words, and lengthening or ſhortening ſyllables as he ſees occaſion. *Quod alligati ad certam pedum neceſſitatem non ſemper propriis uti poſſint, ſed depulſi a rectâ via, neceſſario ad quædam diverticula confugiant; nec mutare quædam modo verba, ſed extendere, corripere, convertere, dividere cogantur.* Quint. lib. x. cap. 1. The ſpeaker in the Dialogue is aware of this diſtinction, and, ſubject to it, the various branches of poetry are with him ſo many different modes of eloquence.

(d) The original has, the citadel of eloquence, which calls to mind an admired paſſage in Lucretius:

> Sed nil dulcius eſt bene quam munita tenere
> Edita doctrinâ ſapientum templa ſerena,
> Deſpicere unde queas alios, paſſimque videre
> Errare, atque viam palantes quærere vitæ.
>
> Lib. ii. ver. 7.

(*e*) It is a fact well known, that in Greece the moſt illuſtrious of both ſexes thought it honourable to exerciſe themſelves in the exhibitions of the theatre, and even to appear in the athletic games. Plutarch, it is true, will have it, that all ſcenic arts were prohibited at Sparta by the laws of Lycurgus; and yet Cornelius Nepos aſſures us, that no Lacedæmonian matron, however high her quality, was aſhamed to act for hire on the public ſtage. He adds, that, throughout Greece, it was deemed the higheſt honour to obtain the prize in the Olympic games, and no man bluſhed to be a performer in plays and pantomimes, and give himſelf a ſpectacle to the people. *Nulla Lacedæmoni tam eſt nobilis vidua, quæ non in ſcenam eat mercede conducta. Magnis in laudibus totâ fuit Græciâ victorem Olympiæ citari. In ſcenam vero prodire, et populo eſſe ſpectaculo nemini in iiſdem gentibus fuit turpitudini.* Corn. Nep. *in Præfat.* It appears, however, from a ſtory told by Ælian (and cited by Shafteſbury, *Advice to an Author*, part ii. ſ. 3), that the Greek women were by law excluded from the Olympic games. Whoever was found to tranſgreſs, or even to croſs the river Alpheus, during the celebration of that great ſpectacle, was liable to be thrown from a rock. The conſequence was, that not one female was detected, except *Callipatria*, or, as others called her, *Pherenicè*. This woman, diſguiſed in the habit of a teacher of gymnaſtic exerciſes, introduced her ſon, *Piſidorus*, to contend for the victor's prize. Her ſon ſucceeded. Tranſported with joy at a ſight ſo glorious, the mother overleaped the fence, which encloſed the magiſtrates, and, in the violence of that exertion, let fall her garment. She was, by conſequence, known to be a woman, but abſolved from all criminality. For that mild and equitable ſentence, ſhe

ſhe was indebted to the merit of her father, her brothers, and her ſon, who all obtained the victor's crown. The incident, however, gave birth to a new law, whereby it was enacted, that the maſters of the gymnaſtic art ſhould, for the future, come naked to the Olympic games. *Ælian*, lib. x. cap. 1; and ſee *Pauſanias*, lib. v. cap. 6.

(f) Nicoſtratus is praiſed by Pauſanias (lib. v. cap. 20), as a great maſter of the athletic arts. Quintilian has alſo recorded his proweſs. Nicoſtratus, whom in our youth we ſaw advanced in years, would inſtruct his pupil in every branch of his art, and make him, what he was himſelf, an invincible champion. Invincible he was, ſince, on one and the ſame day, he entered the liſts as a wreſtler and a boxer, and was proclaimed conqueror in both. *Ac ſi fuerit qui docebitur, ille, quem adoleſcentes vidimus, Nicoſtratus, omnibus in eo docendi partibus ſimiliter uteretur; efficietque illum, qualis hic fuit, luctando pugnandoque (quorum utroque in certamine iiſdem diebus coronabatur) invictum.* Quint. lib. ii. cap. 8.

Section XI.

(*a*) Nero's ambition to excel in poetry was not only ridiculous, but, at the ſame time, deſtructive to Lucan, and almoſt all the good authors of the age. See *Annals*, b. xv. According to the old ſcholiaſt on the Satires of Perſius, the following verſes were either written by Nero, or made in imitation of that emperor's ſtyle:

Torva Mimalloneis implerunt cornua bombis,
Et reptum vitulo caput ablatura ſuperbo
Baſſaris, et lyncem Mænas flexura corymbis,
Evion ingeminat; reparabilis adſonat echo.

The affectation of rhyme, which many ages afterwards was the essential part of monkish verse, the tumour of the words, and the wretched penury of thought, may be imputed to a frivolous prince, who studied his art of poetry in the manner described by Tacitus, *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 16. And yet it may be a question, whether the satirist would have the hardiness to insert the very words of an imperial poet, armed with despotic power. A burlesque imitation would answer the purpose; and it may be inferred from another passage in the same poem, that Persius was content to ridicule the mode of versification then in vogue at court.

> Claudere sic versum didicit; Berecynthius Attin,
> Et qui cæruleum dirimebat Nerea Delphin.
> Sic costam longo subduximus Apennino.

(*b*). Vatinius was a favourite at the court of Nero. Tacitus calls him the spawn of a cook's shop and a tippling-house; *sutrinæ et tabernæ alumnus*. He recommended himself to the favour of the prince by his scurrility and vulgar humour. Being, by those arts, raised above himself, he became the declared enemy of all good men, and acted a distinguished part among the vilest instruments of that pernicious court. See his character, *Annals*, xv. s. 34. When an illiberal and low buffoon basks in the sunshine of a court, and enjoys exorbitant power, the cause of literature can have nothing to expect. The liberal arts must, by consequence, be degraded by a corrupt taste, and learning will be left to run wild and grow to seed.

Section

Section XII.

(*a*) That poetry requires a retreat from the buſtle of the world, has been ſo often repeated, that it is now conſidered as a truth, from which there can be no appeal. Milton, it is true, wrote his Paradiſe Loſt in a ſmall houſe near *Bunhill Fields*; and Dryden courted the muſe in the hurry and diſſipation of a town life. But neither of them fixed his reſidence by choice. Pope grew immortal on the banks of the Thames. But though the country ſeems to be the ſeat of contemplation, two great writers have been in oppoſite opinions. Cicero ſays, woods and groves, and rivers winding through the meadows, and the refreſhing breeze, with the melody of birds, may have their attraction; but they rather relax the mind into indolence, than rouſe our attention, or give vigour to our faculties. *Sylvarum amœnitas, et præterlabentia flumina, et inſpirantes ramis arborum auræ, volucrumque cantus, et ipſa late circumſpiciendi libertas ad ſe trahunt; at mihi remittere potius voluptas iſta videtur cogitationem, quam intendere. De Orat.* lib. ii. This, perhaps, may be true as applied to the public orator, whoſe ſcene of action lay in the forum or the ſenate. Pliny, on the other hand, ſays to his friend Tacitus, there is ſomething in the ſolemnity of venerable woods, and the awful ſilence which prevails in thoſe places, that ſtrongly diſpoſes us to ſtudy and contemplation. For the future, therefore, whenever you hunt, take along with you your pen and paper, as well as your baſket and bottle; for you will find the mountains not more inhabited by DIANA, than by MINERVA. *Jam undique ſylvæ, et ſolitudo, ipſumque illud ſilentium quod venationi datur, magna cogitationis incitamenta*

menta ſunt. Proinde, cum venabere, licebit, auctore me, ut panarium et lagunculam, ſic etiam pugillares feras. Experiaris non DIANAM *magis montibus quam* MINERVAM *inerrare.* Lib. i. epiſt. 6. Between theſe two different opinions, a true poet may be allowed to decide. Horace deſcribes the noiſe and tumult of a city life, and then ſays,

> Scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus, et fugit urbes.
> EPIST. lib. ii. ep. ii. ver. 77.

> Alas! to grottos and to groves we run,
> To eaſe and ſilence, ev'ry muſe's ſon. POPE.

(d) The expreſſion in the original is full and expreſſive, *lucroſæ hujus et ſanguinantis eloquentiæ*; that gainful and blood-thirſty eloquence. The immoderate wealth acquired by Eprius Marcellus has been mentioned in this Dialogue, ſect. viii. Pliny gives us an idea of the vaſt acquiſitions gained by Regulus, the notorious informer. From a ſtate of indigence, he roſe, by a train of villanous actions, to ſuch immenſe riches, that he once conſulted the omens, to know how ſoon he ſhould be worth ſixty millions of ſeſterces, and found them ſo favourable, that he had no doubt of being worth double that ſum. *Aſpice Regulum, qui ex paupere et tenui ad tantas opes per flagitia proceſſit, ut ipſe mihi dixerit, cum conſuleret, quam cito ſeſtertium ſexcennies impleturus eſſet, inveniſſe ſe exta duplicata, quibus portendi millies et ducenties habiturum.* Lib. ii. ep. 20. In another epiſtle the ſame author relates, that Regulus, having loſt his ſon, was viſited upon that occaſion by multitudes of people, who all in ſecret deteſted him, yet paid their court with as much aſſiduity as if they eſteemed and loved him. They retaliated upon this man his own

inſidious

inſidious arts: to gain the friendſhip of Regulus, they played the game of Regulus himſelf. He, in the mean time, dwells in his villa on the other ſide of the Tiber, where he has covered a large tract of ground with magnificent porticos, and lined the banks of the river with elegant ſtatues; profuſe, with all his avarice, and, in the depth of infamy, proud and vain-glorious. *Convenitur ad eum mirâ celebritate: cuncti deteſtantur, oderunt; et, quaſi probent, quaſi diligant, curſant, frequentant, utque breviter, quod ſentio, enunciem, in Regulo demerendo, Regulum imitantur. Tenet ſe trans Tyberim in hortis, in quibus latiſſimum ſolum porticibus immenſis, ripam ſtatuis ſuis occupavit; ut eſt, in ſummâ avaritiâ ſumptuoſus, in ſummâ infamiâ glorioſus.* Lib. iv. ep. 2. All this ſplendour, in which Regulus lived, was the fruit of a gainful and blood-thirſty eloquence; if that maybe called eloquence, which Pliny ſays was nothing more than a crazed imagination; *nihil præter ingenium inſanum.* Lib. iv. ep. 7.

(*c*) Orpheus, in poetic ſtory, was the ſon of Calliope, and Linus boaſted of Apollo for his father.

> ——————Nec Thracius Orpheus,
> Nec Linus; huic mater quamvis, atque huic pater adſit,
> Orphei Calliopea, Lino formoſus Apollo.
>
> VIRG. ECL. iv. ver. 55.

> Not Orpheus' ſelf, nor Linus ſhould exceed
> My lofty lays, or gain the poet's meed,
> Tho' Phœbus, tho' Calliope inſpire,
> And one the mother aid, and one the ſire.
>
> WHARTON'S VIRGIL.

Orpheus embarked in the Argonautic expedition. His hiſtory of it, together with his hymns, is ſtill extant; but whether genuine, is much doubted.

(*d*) Lyſias,

(d) Lyſias, the celebrated orator, was a native of Syracuſe, the chief town in Sicily. He lived about four hundred years before the Chriſtian æra. Cicero ſays, that he did not addict himſelf to the practice of the bar; but his compoſitions were ſo judicious, ſo pure and elegant, that you might venture to pronounce him a perfect orator. *Tum fuit Lyſias, ipſe quidem in cauſis forenſibus non verſatus, ſed egregiè ſubtilis ſcriptor, atque elegans, quem jam prope audeas oratorem perfectum dicere.* Cicero *De Claris Orat.* ſ. 35. Quintilian gives the ſame opinion. Lyſias, he ſays, preceded Demoſthenes: he is acute and elegant, and, if to teach the art of ſpeaking were the only buſineſs of an orator, nothing more perfect can be found. He has no redundancy, nothing ſuperfluous, nothing too refined, or foreign to his purpoſe: his ſtyle is flowing, but more like a pure fountain, than a noble river. *His ætate Lyſias major, ſubtilis atque elegans, et quo nihil, ſi oratori ſatis ſit docere, quæras perfectius. Nihil enim eſt inane, nihil arceſſitum; puro tamen fonti, quam magno flumini propior.* Quint. lib. x. cap. 1. A conſiderable number of his orations is ſtill extant, all written with exquiſite taſte and inexpreſſible ſweetneſs. See a very pleaſing tranſlation by Dr. Gillies.

Hyperides flouriſhed at Athens in the time of Demoſthenes, Æſchynes, Lycurgus, and other famous orators. That age, ſays Cicero, poured forth a torrent of eloquence, of the beſt and pureſt kind, without the falſe glitter of affected ornament, in a ſtyle of noble ſimplicity, which laſted to the end of that period. *Huic Hyperides proximus, et Æſchynes fuit, et Lycurgus, aliique plures. Hæc enim ætas effudit hanc copiam; et, ut opinio mea fert, ſuccus ille et ſanguis incorruptus uſque ad hanc ætatem oratorum fuit, in qua naturalis*

naturalis ineſſet, non fucatus nitor. De Claris Orat. ſ. 36. Quintilian allows to Hyperides a keen diſcernment, and great ſweetneſs of ſtyle; but he pronounces him an orator deſigned by nature to ſhine in cauſes of no great moment. *Dulcis in primis et acutus Hyperides; ſed minoribus cauſis, ut non dixerim utilior, magis par.* Lib. x. cap. 1. Whatever might be the caſe, when this Dialogue happened, it is certain, at preſent, that the fame of Sophocles and Euripides has eclipſed the two Greek orators.

(*e*) For an account of Aſinius Pollio and Corvinus Meſſala, ſee *Annals*, b. xi. ſ. 6. Quintilian (b. xii. chap. 10) commends the diligence of Pollio, and the dignity of Meſſala. In another part of his Inſtitutes, he praiſes the invention, the judgment, and ſpirit of Pollio, but at the ſame time ſays, he fell ſo ſhort of the ſuavity and ſplendour of Cicero, that he might well paſs for an orator of a former age. He adds, that Meſſala was natural and elegant: the grandeur of his ſtyle ſeemed to announce the nobility of his birth; but ſtill he wanted force and energy. *Multa in Aſinio Pollione inventio, ſumma diligentia, adeo ut quibuſdam etiam nimia videatur; et conſilii et animi ſatis; a nitore et jucunditate Ciceronis ita longe abeſt, ut videri poſſit ſæculo prior. At Meſſala nitidus et candidus, et quodammodo præ ſe ferens in dicendo nobilitatem ſuam, viribus minor.* Quintilian, lib. x. cap. 1. The two great poets of the Auguſtan age have tranſmitted the name of Aſinius Pollio to the lateſt poſterity. Virgil has celebrated him as a poet, and a commander of armies, in the Illyrican and Dalmatic wars.

Tu mihi, ſeu magni ſuperas jam ſaxa Timavi,
Sive oram Illyrici legis æquoris; en erit unquam
Ille dies, mihi cum liceat tua dicere facta?
En erit, ut liceat totum mihi ferre per orbem
Sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna cothurno?
ECLOG. viii. ver. 6.

O Pollio! leading thy victorious bands
O'er deep Timavus, or Illyria's ſands;
O when thy glorious deeds ſhall I rehearſe?
When tell the world how matchleſs is thy verſe,
Worthy the lofty ſtage of laurell'd Greece,
Great rival of majeſtic Sophocles?
WHARTON'S VIRGIL.

Horace has added the orator and the ſtateſman:

Paulum ſeveræ muſa tragediæ
Deſit theatris; mox, ubi publicas
Res ordinaris, grande munus
Cecropio repetes cothurno,
Inſigne mœſtis præſidium reis,
Et conſulenti, Pollio, curiæ,
Cui laurus æternos honores
Dalmatico peperit triumpho. Lib. ii. ode 1.

Retard a while thy glowing vein,
Nor ſwell the ſolemn tragic ſcene;
And when thy ſage, thy patriot cares
Have form'd the train of Rome's affairs,
With lofty rapture reinflam'd, diffuſe
Heroic thoughts, and wake the buſkin'd muſe.
FRANCIS'S HORACE.

But after all, the queſtion put by Maternus, is, Can any of their orations be compared to the *Medea* of Ovid, or the *Thyeſtes* of Varius? Thoſe two tragedies are ſo often praiſed by the critics of antiquity, that the republic of letters has reaſon to lament the loſs. Quintilian ſays that the *Medea* of Ovid was a ſpecimen of genius, that ſhewed to what heights the poet could have riſen,

riſen, had he thought fit rather to curb, than give the rein to his imagination. *Ovidii Medea videtur mihi oſtendere quantum vir ille præſtare potuiſſet, ſi ingenio ſuo temperare, quam indulgere maluiſſet.* Lib. x. cap. 1.

The works of Varius, if we except a few fragments, are wholly loſt. Horace, in his journey to Brunduſium, met him and Virgil, and he mentions the incident with the rapture of a friend, who loved them both:

> Plotius, et VARIUS Sinueſſæ, Virgiliuſque
> Occurrunt; animæ quales neque candidiores
> Terra tulit, neque queis me ſit devinctior alter.
> Lib. i. ſat. 5.

Horace alſo celebrates Varius as a poet of ſublime genius. He begins his Ode to Agrippa with the following lines:

> Scriberis Vario fortis, et hoſtium
> Victor, Mæonii carminis alite,
> Quam rem cumque ferox navibus, aut equis
> Miles te duce geſſerit. Lib. i. ode 6.

> Varius, who ſoars on epic wing,
> Agrippa, ſhall thy conqueſts ſing,
> Whate'er, inſpir'd by thy command,
> The ſoldier dar'd on ſea or land.
> FRANCIS's HORACE.

A few fragments only of his works have reached poſterity. His tragedy of THYESTES is highly praiſed by Quintilian. That judicious critic does not heſitate to ſay, that it may be oppoſed to the beſt productions of the Greek ſtage. *Jam Varii Thyeſtes cuilibet Græcorum comparari poteſt.* Varius lived in high favour at the court of Auguſtus. After the death of Virgil, he was joined with *Plotius* and *Tucca* to reviſe the works of that

that admirable poet. The *Varus* of Virgil, ſo often celebrated in the Paſtorals, was, notwithſtanding what ſome of the commentators have ſaid, a different perſon from Varius, the author of Thyeſtes.

Section XIII.

(*a*) The rural delight of Virgil is deſcribed by himſelf:

> Rura mihi et rigui placeant in vallibus amnes;
> Flumina ſamem, ſylvaſque inglorius. O ubi campi,
> Sperchiuſque, et virginibus bacchata Lacænis
> Taygeta! O quis me gelidis ſub montibus Hæmi
> Siſtat, et ingenti ramorum protegat umbrâ!
>
> GEORGICA, lib. ii. ver. 485.

> Me may the lowly vales and woodland pleaſe,
> And winding rivers, and inglorious eaſe!
> O that I wander'd by Sperchius' flood,
> Or on Taygetus' ſacred top I ſtood!
> Who in cool Hæmus' vales my limbs will lay,
> And in the darkeſt thicket hide from day!
>
> WHARTON'S VIRG.

Beſides this poetical retreat, which his imagination could command at any time, Virgil had a real and delightful villa near Naples, where he compoſed his Georgics, and wrote great part of the Æneid.

(*b*) When Auguſtus, or any eminent citizen, diſtinguiſhed by his public merit, appeared in the theatre, the people teſtified their joy by acclamations, and unbounded applauſe. It is recorded by Horace, that Mæcenas received that public honour.

> ———Datus in theatro
> Cum tibi plauſus,
> Care Mæcenas eques, ut paterni
> Fluminis ripæ, ſimul et jocoſa
> Redderet laudes tibi Vaticani
> Montis imago. Lib. i. ode 20.

When

When Virgil appeared, the audience paid the ſame compliment to a man whoſe poetry adorned the Roman ſtory. The letters from Auguſtus, which are mentioned in this paſſage, have periſhed in the ruins of ancient literature.

(*c*) Pomponius Secundus was of conſular rank, and an eminent writer of tragedy. See *Annals*, b. ii. ſ. 13. His life was written by Pliny the elder, whoſe nephew mentions the fact (book iii. epiſt. 5), and ſays it was a tribute to friendſhip. Quintilian pronounces him the beſt of all the dramatic poets, whom he had ſeen; though the critics, whoſe judgment was matured by years, did not think him ſufficiently tragical. They admitted, however, that his erudition was conſiderable, and the beauty of his compoſition ſurpaſſed all his contemporaries. *Eorum, quos viderim, longe princeps Pomponius Secundus, quem ſenes parum tragicum putabant, eruditione ac nitore præſtare confitebantur.* Lib. x. cap. 1.

(*d*) Quintilian makes honourable mention of Domitius Afer. He ſays, when he was a boy, the ſpeeches of that orator for Voluſenus Catulus were held in high eſtimation. *Et nobis pueris inſignes pro Voluſeno Catulo Domitii Afri orationes ferebantur.* Lib. x. cap. 1. He adds, in another part of the ſame chapter, that Domitius Afer and Julius Africanus were, of all the orators who flouriſhed in his time, without compariſon the beſt. But Afer ſtands diſtinguiſhed by the ſplendour of his diction, and the rhetorical art, which he has diſplayed in all his compoſitions. You would not ſcruple to rank him among the ancient orators. *Eorum quos viderim, Domitius Afer et Julius Secundus longe præſtantiſſimi. Verborum arte ille, et toto genere dicendi præferendus et quem in numero veterum locare non timeas.* Lib. x. cap. 1. Quintilian relates, that in a converſation which

he

he had when a young man, he aſked Domitius Afer what poet was, in his opinion, the next to Homer? the anſwer was, *Virgil is undoubtedly the ſecond epic poet, but he is nearer to the firſt, than to the third. Utar enim verbis, quæ ex Afro Domitio juvenis accepi; qui mihi interroganti, quem Homero crederet maximè accedere: Secundus, inquit, eſt Virgilius, propior tamen primo quam tertio.* Lib. x. cap. 1. We may believe that Quintilian thought highly of the man, whoſe judgment he cites as an authority. Quintilian, however, had in view nothing but the talents of this celebrated orator. Tacitus, as a moral hiſtorian, looked at the character of the man. He introduces him on the ſtage of public buſineſs in the reign of Tiberius, and there repreſents him in haſte to advance himſelf by any kind of crime. *Quoque facinore properus clareſcere.* He tells us, in the ſame paſſage (*Annals*, b. iv. ſ. 52), that Tiberius pronounced him an orator in his own right, *ſuo jure diſertum.* Afer died in the reign of Nero, A. U. C. 812, A. D. 59. In relating his death, Tacitus obſerves, that he raiſed himſelf by his eloquence to the firſt civil honours; but he does not diſmiſs him without condemning his morals. *Annals*, b. xiv. ſ. 19.

(*e*) We find in the Annals and the Hiſtory of Tacitus, a number of inſtances to juſtify the ſentiments of Maternus. The rich found it neceſſary to bequeath part of their ſubſtance to the prince, in order to ſecure the remainder for their families. For the ſame reaſon, Agricola made Domitian joint heir with his wife and daughter. *Life of Agricola*, ſection xliii.

(*f*) By a law of the Twelve Tables, a crown, when fairly earned by virtue, was placed on the head of the deceaſed, and another was ordered to be given to his father. The ſpirit of the law,

Cicero

Cicero ſays, plainly intimated, that commendation was a tribute due to departed virtue. A crown was given not only to him, who earned it, but alſo to the father, who gave birth to diſtinguiſhed merit. *Illa jam ſignificatio eſt, laudis ornamenta ad mortuos pertinere, quod coronam virtute partam, et ei, qui peperiſſet, et ejus parenti, ſine fraude lex impoſitam eſſe jubet. De Legibus*, lib. ii. ſ. 24. This is the reward to which Maternus aſpires; and, that being granted, he deſires, as Horace did before him, to wave the pomp of funeral ceremonies.

Abſint inani funere næniæ,
Luctuſque turpes, et querimoniæ:
Compeſce clamorem, et ſepulchri
Mitte ſupervacuos honores. Lib. ii. ode 20.

My friends, the funeral ſorrow ſpare,
The plaintive ſong, and tender tear;
Nor let the voice of grief profane,
With loud laments, the ſolemn ſcene;
Nor o'er your poet's empty urn
With uſeleſs idle ſorrow mourn.

FRANCIS's HORACE.

Section XIV.

(*a*) Vipſtanius Meſſala commanded a legion, and, at the head of it, went over to Veſpaſian's party in the contention with Vitellius. He was a man of illuſtrious birth, and equal merit; the only one, ſays Tacitus, who entered into that war from motives of virtue. *Legioni Vipſtanius Meſſala præerat, claris majoribus, egregius ipſe, et qui ſolus ad id bellum artes bonas attuliſſet. Hiſt.* lib. iii. ſ. 9. He was brother to Regulus, the vile informer, who has been mentioned. See Life of Agricola,

Agricola, ſection ii. note (*a*), and this tract, ſ. xii. note (*b*). Meſſala, we are told by Tacitus, before he had attained the ſenatorian age, acquired great fame by pleading the cauſe of his profligate brother with extraordinary eloquence, and family affection. *Magnam eo die pietatis eloquentiæque famam Vipſtanius Meſſala adeptus eſt; nondum ſenatoriâ ætate, auſus pro fratre Aquilio Regulo deprecari. Hiſt.* lib. iv. ſ. 42. Since Meſſala has now joined the company, the Dialogue takes a new turn, and, by an eaſy and natural tranſition, ſlides into the queſtion concerning the cauſes of the decline of eloquence.

(*b*) This is probably the ſame Aſiaticus, who, in the revolt of the provinces of Gaul, fought on the ſide of VINDEX. See *Hiſt.* b. ii. ſ. 94. Biography was, in that evil period, a tribute paid by the friends of departed merit, and the only kind of writing, in which men could dare faintly to utter a ſentiment in favour of virtue and public liberty.

(*c*) In the declamations of Seneca and Quintilian, we have abundant examples of theſe ſcholaſtic exerciſes, which Juvenal has placed in a ridiculous light.

> Et nos ergo manum ferulæ ſubduximus, et nos
> Conſilium dedimus Syllæ, privatus ut altum
> Dormiret. SAT. i. ver. 15.

> Provok'd by theſe incorrigible fools,
> I left declaiming in pedantic ſchools;
> Where, with men-boys, I ſtrove to get renown,
> Adviſing Sylla to a private gown.
> DRYDEN'S JUVENAL.

Section XV.

(*a*) The eloquence of Cicero, and the eminent orators of that age, was preferred by all men of ſound

ſound judgment to the unnatural and affected ſtyle that prevailed under the emperors. Quintilian gives a decided opinion. Cicero, he ſays, was allowed to be the reigning orator of his time, and his name, with poſterity, is not ſo much that of a man, as of eloquence itſelf. *Quare non immerito ab hominibus ætatis ſuæ regnare in judiciis dictus eſt: apud poſteros vero id conſecutus, ut Cicero jam non hominis, ſed eloquentiæ nomen habeatur.* Lib. x. cap. 1. Pliny the younger profeſſed that Cicero was the orator, with whom he aſpired to enter into competition. Not content with the eloquence of his own times, he held it abſurd not to follow the beſt examples of a former age. *Eſt enim mihi cum Cicerone æmulatio, nec ſum contentus eloquentiâ ſæculi noſtri. Nam ſtultiſſimum credo, ad imitandum non optima quæque præponere.* Lib. i. epiſt. 5.

(*b*) Nicetes was a native of Smyrna, and a rhetorician in great celebrity. Seneca ſays (*Controverſiarum*, lib. iv. cap. 25), that his ſcholars, content with hearing their maſter, had no ambition to be heard themſelves. Pliny the younger, among the commendations which he beſtows on a friend, mentions, as a praiſe-worthy part of his character, that he attended the lectures of Quintilian and Nicetes Sacerdos, of whom Pliny himſelf was at that time a conſtant follower. *Erat non ſtudiorum tantum, verum etiam ſtudioſorum amantiſſimus; ac prope quotidie ad audiendos, quos tunc ego frequentabam, Quintilianum et Niceten Sacerdotem, ventitabat.* Lib. vi. epiſt. 6.

(*c*) Mitylene was the chief city of the iſle of Leſbos, in the Ægean Sea, near the coaſt of Aſia. The place at this day is called *Metelin*; ſubject to the Turkiſh dominion. *Epheſus* was a city of *Ionia*, in the Leſſer Aſia, now called

Ajaloue by the Turks, who are maſters of the place.

(d) Domitius Afer and Julius Africanus have been already mentioned, ſection xiii. note (*d*). Both are highly praiſed by Quintilian. For Aſinius Pollio, ſee ſ. xii. note (*e*).

Section XVI.

(a) Quintilian puts the ſame queſtion, and, according to him, Demoſthenes is the laſt of the ancients among the Greeks, as Cicero is among the Romans. See *Quntilian*, lib. viii. cap. 5.

(b) The ſiege of Troy is ſuppoſed to have been brought to a concluſion eleven hundred and ninety-three years before the Chriſtian æra. From that time to the ſixth year of Veſpaſian, (A. U. C. 828), when this Dialogue was had, the number of years that intervened was about 1268; a period which, with propriety, may be ſaid to be little leſs than 1300 years.

(*c*) Demoſthenes died, before Chriſt 322 years, A. U. C. 432. From that time to the ſixth of Veſpaſian, A. U. C. 828, the intervening ſpace was about 396 years. Aper calls it little more than 400 years; but in a converſation-piece ſtrict accuracy is not to be expected.

(d) In the rude ſtate of aſtronomy, which prevailed during many ages of the world, it was natural that mankind ſhould differ in their computation of time. The ancient Ægyptians, according to Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. and Pliny the elder, lib. vii. ſ. 48, meaſured time by the new moons. Some called the ſummer one year, and the winter another. At firſt thirty days were a lunar year; three, four, and ſix months were afterwards added, and hence in the Ægyptian chronology

chronology the vaſt number of years from the beginning of the world. Herodotus informs us, that the Ægyptians, in proceſs of time, formed the idea of the ſolar or ſolſtitial year, ſubdivided into twelve months. The Roman year at firſt was lunar, conſiſting, in the time of Romulus, of ten months. Numa Pompilius added two. Men ſaw a diverſity in the ſeaſons, and, wiſhing to know the cauſe, began at length to perceive that the diſtance or proximity of the ſun occaſioned the various operations of nature; but it was long before the ſpace of time, wherein that luminary performs his courſe through the zodiac, and returns to the point from which he ſet out, was called a year. The great year *(annus magnus)*, or the PLATONIC YEAR, is the ſpace of time, wherein the ſeven planets complete their revolutions, and all ſet out again from the ſame point of the heavens, where their courſe began before. Mathematicians have been much divided in their calculations. Brotier obſerves, that Riccioli makes the great year 25,920 ſolar years; Tycho Brahe, 25,816; and Caſſini, 24,800. Cicero expreſsly calls it a period of 12,954 years. *Horum annorum, quos in faſtis habemus,* MAGNUS *annos duodecim millia nongentos quinquaginta quatuor amplectitur, ſoſtitiales ſcilicet.* For a full and accurate diſſertation on the ANNUS MAGNUS, ſee the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Letters, tom. xxii. 4to edit. p. 82.

Brotier, in his note on this paſſage, relates a fact not univerſally known. He mentions a letter from one of the Jeſuits on the miſſion, dated *Peking*, 25 October 1725, in which it is ſtated, that in the month of March preceding, when Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury were in conjunction, the Chineſe mathematicians fancied that an approximation of Saturn was near at

hand, and, in that perſuaſion, congratulated the emperor YONG-TCHING on the renovation of the world, which was ſhortly to take place. The emperor received the addreſſes of the nobility, and gave credit to the opinion of the philoſophers in all his public edicts. Meanwhile, *Father Kegler* endeavoured to undeceive the emperor, and to convince him that the whole was a miſtake of the Chineſe mathematicians: but he tried in vain; flattery ſucceeded at court, and triumphed over truth.

(*e*) The argument is this: If the great year is the meaſure of time; then, as it conſiſts, according to Cicero, of 12,954 ſolar years, the whole being divided by twelve, every month of the great year would be clearly 1080 years. According to that calculation, Demoſthenes not only lived in the ſame year with the perſons engaged in the Dialogue, but, it may be ſaid, in the ſame month. Theſe are the months, to which Virgil alludes in the fourth eclogue:

Incipient magni procedere menſes.

Section XVII.

(*a*) Menenius Agrippa was conſul A. U. C. 251. In leſs than ten years afterwards, violent diſſenſions broke out between the patrician order and the common people, who complained that they were haraſſed and oppreſſed by their affluent creditors. One Sicinius was their factious demagogue. He told them, that it was in vain they fought the battles of their country, ſince they were no better than ſlaves and priſoners at Rome. He added, that men are born equal; that the fruits of the earth were the common birth-right

birth-right of all, and an Agrarian law was neceſſary; that they groaned under a load of debts and taxes; and that a lazy and corrupt ariſtocracy battened at eaſe on the ſpoils of their labour and induſtry. By the advice of this incendiary, the diſcontented citizens made a ſeceſſion to the MONS SACER, about three miles out of the city. The fathers, in the mean time, were covered with conſternation. In order, however, to appeaſe the fury of the multitude, they diſpatched Menius Agrippa to their camp. In the rude, unpoliſhed ſtyle of the times (*priſco illo dicendi et horrido modo*, ſays Livy), that orator told them: "At the time when the powers of "man did not, as at preſent, co-operate to one "uſeful end, and the members of the human "body had their ſeparate intereſt, their factions "and cabals; it was agreed among them, that "the belly maintained itſelf by their toil and la-"bour, enjoying, in the middle of all, a ſtate "of calm repoſe, pampered with luxuries, and "gratified with every kind of pleaſure. A con-"ſpiracy followed, and the ſeveral members of "the body took the covenant. The hand would "no longer adminiſter food; the mouth would "not accept it, and the drudgery of maſtication "was too much for the teeth. They continued "in this reſolution, determined to ſtarve the "TREASURY of the body, till they began to "feel the conſequences of their ill-adviſed re-"volt. The ſeveral members loſt their former "vigour, and the whole body was falling into "a rapid decline. It was then ſeen that the "belly was formed for the good of the whole; "that it was by no means lazy, idle, and in-"active; but, while it was properly ſupported, "took care to diſtribute nouriſhment to every "part, and, having digeſted the ſupplies, filled

"the

" the veins with pure and wholesome blood." The analogy, which this fable bore to the sedition of the Roman people, was understood and felt. The discontented multitude saw that the state of man, described by Menenius, was *like to an insurrection*. They returned to Rome, and submitted to legal government. *Tempore, quo in homine non, ut nunc, omnia in unum consentiebant, sed singulis membris suum cuique consilium, suus sermo fuerat, indignatas reliquas partes, suâ curâ, suo labore, ac ministerio ventri omnia quæri; ventrem in medio quietum, nihil aliud, quam datis voluptatibus frui; conspirasse inde, ne manus ad os cibum ferrent, nec os acciperet datum, nec dentes conficerent. Hac irâ dum ventrem fame domare vellent, ipsa unà membra, totumque corpus ad extremam tabem venisse. Inde apparuisse, ventris quoque haud segne ministerium esse; nec magis ali quam alere eum; reddentem in omnes corporis partes hunc, quo vivimus vigemusque, divisum, pariter in venas, maturum confecto cibo sanguinem.* Livy, lib. ii. s. 32. St. Paul has made use of a similar argument: " The body is not one " member, but many: if the foot shall say, Be- " cause I am not the hand, I am not of the body; " is it, therefore, not of the body? And if the " ear shall say, Because I am not the eye, I am " not of the body; is it, therefore, not of the " body? If the whole body were an eye, where " were the hearing? If the whole were hearing, " where were the smelling? But now hath God set " the members every one of them in the body, as " it hath pleased him. And if they were all one " member, where were the body? But now are they " many members, yet but one body: and the eye " cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of " thee; nor again, the head to the feet, I have " no need of you. And whether one member " suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one " member

" member be honoured, all the members rejoice " with it." *Firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians*, chap. xii. This reaſoning of ST. PAUL merits the attention of thoſe friends of innovation, who are not content with the ſtation in which God has placed them, and, therefore, object to all ſubordination, all ranks in ſociety.

(*b*) Cæſar the dictator was, as the poet expreſſes it, *graced* with both Minervas. Quintilian is of opinion, that if he had devoted his whole time to the profeſſion of eloquence, he would have been the great rival of Cicero. The energy of his language, his ſtrength of conception, and his power over the paſſions, were ſo ſtriking, that he may be ſaid to have harangued with the ſame ſpirit that he fought. *Caius vero Cæſar, ſi foro tantum vaccaſſet, non alius ex noſtris contra Ciceronem nominaretur. Tanta in eo vis eſt, id acumen, ea concitatio, ut illum eodem animo dixiſſe, quo bellavit, appareat.* Lib. x. cap. 1. To ſpeak of Cicero in this place, were to hold a candle to the ſun. It will be ſufficient to refer to Quintilian, who, in the chapter above cited, has drawn a beautiful parallel between him and Demoſthenes. The Roman orator, he admits, improved himſelf by a diligent ſtudy of the beſt models of Greece. He attained the warmth and the ſublime of Demoſthenes, the harmony of Plato, and the ſweet flexibility of Iſocrates. His own native genius ſupplied the reſt. He was not content, as Pindar expreſſes it, to collect the drops that rained down from heaven, but had in himſelf the living fountain of that copious flow, and that ſublime, that pathetic energy, which were beſtowed upon him by the bounty of Providence, that in one man Eloquence might exert all her powers. *Nam mihi videtur Marcus Tullius, cum ſe totum ad imitationem Græcorum*

Græcorum contuliſſet, effinxiſſe vim Demoſthenis, copiam Platonis, jucunditatem Iſocratis. Nec vero quod in quoque optimum fuit ſtudio conſecutus eſt tantum, ſed plurimas vel potius omnes ex ſe ipſo virtutes extulit immortalis ingenii beatiſſimâ ubertate. Non enim pluvias (ut ait Pindarus) aquas colligit, ſed vivo gurgite exundat, dono quodam providentiæ genitus, in quo vires ſuas Eloquentia experiretur. Lib. x. cap. 1.

(*c*) Marcus Cælius Rufus, in the judgment of Quintilian, was an orator of conſiderable genius. In the conduct of a proſecution, he was remarkable for a certain urbanity, that gave a ſecret charm to his whole ſpeech. It is to be regretted that he was not a man of better conduct, and longer life. *Multum ingenii in Cælio, et præcipuè in accuſando multa urbanitas; dignuſque vir, cui et mens melior, et vita longior contigiſſet.* Quint. lib. x. cap. 1. His letters to Cicero make the eighth book of the *Epiſtolæ ad Familiares*. Velleius Paterculus ſays of him, that his ſtyle of eloquence and his caſt of mind bore a reſemblance to Curio, but raiſed him above that factious orator. His genius for miſchief and evil deeds was not inferior to Curio, and his motives were ſtrong and urgent, ſince his fortune was worſe than even his frame of mind. *Marcus Cælius, vir eloquio animoque Curioni ſimillimus, ſed in utroque perfectior; nec minus ingeniosè nequam, cum ne in modicâ quidem ſervari poſſet, quippe pejor illi res familiaris, quam mens.* Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. ſ. 68.

Licinius Macer Calvus, we are told by Seneca, maintained a long but unjuſt contention with Cicero himſelf for the palm of eloquence. He was a warm and vehement accuſer, inſomuch that Vatinius, though defended by Cicero, interrupted Calvus in the middle of his ſpeech, and ſaid to the judges, "" Though this man has a torrent of "" words, does it follow that I muſt be condemned?"

Calvus

Calvus diu cum Cicerone iniquiſſimam litem de principatu eloquentiæ habuit; et uſque eo violentus accuſator et concitatus fuit, ut in media actione ejus ſurgeret Vatinius Reus, et exclamaret, Rogo vos, judices, ſi iſte diſertus eſt, ideo me damnari oportet? Seneca, *Controv.* lib. iii. cap. 19. Cicero could not dread him as a rival, and it may therefore be preſumed, that he has drawn his character with an impartial hand. Calvus was an orator more improved by literature than Curio. He ſpoke with accuracy, and in his compoſition ſhewed great taſte and delicacy; but, labouring to refine his language, he was too attentive to little niceties. He wiſhed to make no bad blood, and he loſt the good. His ſtyle was poliſhed with timid caution; but while it pleaſed the ear of the learned, the ſpirit evaporated, and of courſe made no impreſſion in the forum, which is the theatre of eloquence. *Ad Calvum revertamur; qui orator fuiſſet cum literis eruditior quam Curio, tum etiam accuratius quoddam dicendi, et exquiſitius afferebat genus; quod quamquam ſcienter eleganterque tractabat, nimium tamen inquirens in ſe, atque ipſe ſeſe obſervans, metuenſque ne vitioſum colligeret, etiam verum ſanguinem deperdebat. Itaque ejus oratio nimiâ religione attenuata, doctis et attentè audientibus erat illuſtris, a multitudine autem, et a foro, cui nata eloquentia eſt, devorabatur. De Claris Orat.* ſ. 283. Quintilian ſays, there were, who preferred him to all the orators of his time. Others were of opinion that, by being too ſevere a critic on himſelf, he poliſhed too much, and grew weak by refinement. But his manner was grave and ſolid; his ſtyle was chaſte, and often animated. To be thought a man of attic eloquence was the height of his ambition. If he had lived to ſee his error, and to give to his eloquence a true and perfect form, not by retrenching (for there was nothing to be taken away), but by adding

ding certain qualities that were wanted, he would have reached the ſummit of his art. By a premature death his fame was nipped in the bud. *Inveni qui Calvum præferrent omnibus; inveni qui contrà crederent eum, nimiâ contra ſe calumniâ, verum ſanguinem perdidiſſe. Sed eſt et ſancta et gravis oratio, et caſtigata, et frequenter vehemens quoque. Imitator eſt autem Atticorum; fecitque illi properata mors injuriam, ſi quid adjecturus, non ſi quid detracturus fuit.* Quintil. lib. x. cap. 1.

(*d*) This was the famous Marcus Junius Brutus, who ſtood forth in the cauſe of liberty, and delivered his country from the uſurpation of Julius Cæſar. Cicero deſcribes him in that great tragic ſcene, brandiſhing his bloody dagger, and calling on Cicero by name, to tell him that his country was free. *Cæſare interfecto, ſtatim cruentum altè extollens Marcus Brutus pugionem, Ciceronem nominatim exclamavit, atque ei recuperatam libertatem eſt gratulatus.* Philippic. ii. ſ. 28. The late Doctor Akenſide has retouched this paſſage, with all the colours of a ſublime imagination.

> Look then abroad through nature, through the range
> Of planets, ſuns, and adamantine ſpheres,
> Wheeling unſhaken through the void immenſe,
> And ſpeak, O man! does this capacious ſcene
> With half that kindling majeſty dilate
> Thy ſtrong conception, as when Brutus roſe
> Refulgent from the ſtroke of Cæſar's fate,
> Amid the crowd of patriots, and his arm
> Aloft extending, like eternal Jove,
> When guilt brings down the thunder, call'd aloud
> On Tully's name, and ſhook his crimſon ſteel,
> And bade the father of his country hail!
> For, lo! the tyrant proſtrate in the duſt,
> And Rome again is free.
>
> PLEASURES OF IMAG. b. i. ver. 487.

According

According to Quintilian, Brutus was fitter for philoſophical ſpeculations, and books of moral theory, than for the career of public oratory. In the former he was equal to the weight and dignity of his ſubject: you clearly ſaw that he believed what he ſaid. *Egregius vero multoque quam in orationibus præſtantior Brutus, ſuffecit ponderi rerum; ſcias eum ſentire quæ dicit.* Quintil. lib. x. cap. 1.

For Aſinius Pollio and Meſſala, ſee ſection xii. note (*e*).

(*e*) Hirtius and Panſa were conſuls A. U. C. 711; before the Chriſtian æra 43. In this year, the famous *triple league*, called the TRIUMVIRATE, was formed between Auguſtus, Lepidus, and Antony. The *proſcription*, or the liſt of thoſe who were doomed to die for the crime of adhering to the cauſe of liberty, was alſo ſettled, and Cicero was one of the number. A band of aſſaſſins went in queſt of him to his villa, called *Aſtura*, near the ſea-ſhore. Their leader was one Popilius Lænas, a military tribune, whom Cicero had formerly defended with ſucceſs in a capital cauſe. They overtook Cicero in his litter. He commanded his ſervants to ſet him down, and make no reſiſtance; then looking upon his executioners with a preſence and firmneſs which almoſt daunted them, and thruſting his neck as forward as he could out of the litter, he bade them *do their work, and take what they wanted.* The murderers cut off his head, and both his hands. Popilius undertook to convey them to Rome, as the moſt agreeable preſent to Antony; without reflecting on the *infamy of carrying that head, which had ſaved his own.* He found Antony in the forum, and, upon ſhewing the ſpoils which he brought, was rewarded upon the ſpot with the *honour of a crown, and about eight thouſand pounds ſterling.*

ſterling. Antony ordered the head to be *fixed upon the roſtra, between the two hands*; a ſad ſpectacle to the people, who beheld thoſe mangled members, which uſed to exert themſelves, from that place, in defence of the lives, the fortunes, and the liberties of Rome. Cicero was killed on the ſeventh of December, about ten days from the ſettlement of the triumvirate, after he had lived *ſixty-three years, eleven months, and five days.* See Middleton's *Life of Cicero*, 4to edit. vol. ii. p. 495 to 498. Velleius Paterculus, after mentioning Cicero's death, breaks out in a ſtrain of indignation, that almoſt redeems the character of that time-ſerving writer. He ſays to Antony, in a ſpirited apoſtrophe, you have no reaſon to exult: you have gained no point, by paying the aſſaſſin, who ſtopped that eloquent mouth, and cut off that illuſtrious head. You have paid the wages of murder, and you have deſtroyed a conſul, who was the conſervator of the commonwealth. By that act, you delivered Cicero from a diſtracted world, from the infirmities of old age, and from a life, which under your uſurpation, would have been worſe than death. His fame was not to be cruſhed: the glory of his actions and his eloquence ſtill remains, and you have raiſed it higher than ever. He lives, and will continue to live in every age and nation. Poſterity will admire and venerate the torrent of eloquence, which he poured out againſt yourſelf, and will for ever execrate the horrible murder, which you committed. *Nihil tamen egiſti, Marce Antoni (cogit enim excedere propoſiti formam operis erumpens animo ac pictore indignatio): nihil, inquam, egiſti; mercedem cæleſtiſſimi oris, et clariſſimi capitis abſciſſi numerando; auctoramentoque funebri ad conſervatoris quondam reipublicæ tantique conſulis irritando necem. Rapuiſti tu Marco Ciceroni*

lucem ſollicitam, et ætatem ſenilem, et vitam miſeriorem tc principe, quam ſub te triumviro mortem. Famam vero, gloriamque factorum atque dictorum adeo non abſtuliſti, ut auxeris. Vivit, vivetque per omnium ſæculorum memoriam ; omniſque poſteritas illius in te ſcripta mirabitur, tuum in eum factum execrabitur. Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. ſ. 66.

(f) Between the conſulſhip of Auguſtus, which began immediately after the deſtruction of Hertius and Panſa, A. U.C. 711, and the death of that emperor, which was A. U. 767, fifty-ſix years intervened, and to the ſixth of Veſpaſian (A. U. C. 828), about 118 years. For the ſake of a round number, it is called in the Dialogue a ſpace of 120 years.

(g) Julius Cæſar landed in Britain in the years of Rome 699 and 700. See *Life of Agricola*, ſ. xiii. note (*a*). It does not appear when Aper was in Britain ; it could not be till the year of Rome 796, when Aulus Plautius, by order of the emperor Claudius, undertook the conqueſt of the iſland. See *Life of Agricola*, ſ. xiv. note (*a*). At that time, the Briton, who fought againſt Cæſar, muſt have been far advanced in years.

(*h*) A largeſs was given to the people, in the fourth year of Veſpaſian, when Domitian entered on his ſecond conſulſhip. This, Brotier ſays, appears on a medal, with this inſcription: Cong. ii. Cos. ii. *Congiarium alterum, Domitiano conſule ſecundùm.* The cuſtom of giving large diſtributions to the people was for many ages eſtabliſhed at Rome. Brotier traces it from Ancus Martius, the fourth king of Rome, when the poverty of the people called for relief. The like bounty was diſtributed by the generals, who returned in triumph. Lucullus and Julius Cæſar diſplayed, on thoſe occaſions, great pomp and magnificence. Corn, wine, and oil were plentifully diſtributed, and

and the popularity, acquired by thoſe means, was, perhaps, the ruin of the commonwealth. Cæſar laviſhed money. Auguſtus followed the example, and Tiberius did the ſame; but prodigality was not his practice. His politic genius taught him all the arts of governing. The bounties thus diſtributed, were called, when given to the people, CONGIARIA, and, to the ſoldiers, DONATIVA. Whoever deſires to form an idea of the number of Roman citizens, who, at different times, received largeſſes, and the prodigious expence attending them, may ſee an account drawn up with diligent attention by Brotier, in an elaborate note on this paſſage. He begins with Julius Cæſar; and purſues the enquiry through the ſeveral ſucceſſive emperors, fixing the date and expence at every period, as low down as the conſulſhip of Conſtantius and Galerius Maximianus; when, the empire being divided into the eaſtern and weſtern, its former magnificence was, by conſequence, much diminiſhed.

(*i*) The perſon here called Corvinus was the ſame as Corvinus Meſſala, who flouriſhed in the reign of Auguſtus, at the ſame time with Aſinius Pollio. See ſ. xii. note (*e*).

Section XVIII.

(*a*) Servius Sulpicius Galba was conſul A. U. C. 610, before the Chriſtian æra 144. Cicero ſays of him, that he was, in his day, an orator of eminence. When he ſpoke in public, the natural energy of his mind ſupported him, and the warmth of his imagination made him vehement and pathetic; his language was animated, bold, and rapid; but, when he, afterwards, took his pen in hand to correct and poliſh, the fit of enthuſiaſm

thuſiaſm was over; his paſſions ebbed away, and the compoſition was cold and languid. *Galbam fortaſſe vis non ingenii ſolum, ſed etiam animi, et naturalis quidam dolor, dicentem incendebat, efficiebatque, ut et incitata, et gravis, et vehemens eſſet oratio; dein cum otioſus ſtilum prehenderat, motuſque omnis animi, tanquam ventus, hominem defecerat, flacceſcebat oratio. Ardor animi, non ſemper adeſt, iſque cum conſedit, omnis illa vis, et quaſi flamma oratoris extinguitur. De Claris Orat.* ſ. 93. Suetonius ſays, that the perſon here intended was of conſular dignity, and, by his eloquence, gave weight and luſtre to his family. *Life of Galba,* ſ. iii.

(*b*) Caius Papirius Carbo was conſul A. U. C. 634. Cicero wiſhes that he had proved himſelf as good a citizen, as he was an orator. Being impeached for his turbulent and ſeditious conduct, he did not chooſe to ſtand the event of a trial, but eſcaped the judgment of the ſenate by a voluntary death. His life was ſpent in forenſic cauſes. Men of ſenſe, who heard him, have reported, that he was a fluent, animated, and harmonious ſpeaker; at times pathetic, always pleaſing, and abounding with wit. *Carbo, quoad vita ſuppeditavit, eſt in multis judiciis cauſiſque cognitus. Hunc qui audierant prudentes homines, canorum oratorem, et volubilem, et ſatis acrem, atque eundem et vehementem, et valde dulcem, et perfacetum fuiſſe dicebant. De Claris Orat.* ſ. 105.

(*c*) Calvus and Cælius have been mentioned already. See ſ. xvii. note (*c*).

(*d*) Caius Gracchus was tribune of the people A. U. C. 633. In that character he took the popular ſide againſt the patricians; and, purſuing the plan of the Agrarian law laid down by his brother, Tiberius Gracchus, he was able by his eloquence to keep the city of Rome in violent agitation. Amidſt the tumult, the ſenate, by a decree,

decree, ordered the conſul, Lucius Opimius, *to take care that the commonwealth received no injury*; and, ſays Cicero, not a ſingle night intervened, before that magiſtrate put Gracchus to death. *Decrevit ſenatus, ut Lucius Opimius, conſul, videret, ne quid detrimenti reſpublica caperet: nox nulla interceſſit; interfectus eſt propter quaſdam ſeditionum ſuſpiciones Caius Gracchus, clariſſimo patre natus, avis majoribus. Orat.* i. *in Catilinam.* His reputation as an orator towers above all his contemporaries. Cicero ſays, the commonwealth and the intereſts of literature ſuffered greatly by his untimely end. He wiſhes that the love of his country, and not zeal for the memory of his brother, had inſpired his actions. His eloquence was ſuch as left him without a rival: in his diction, what a noble ſplendour! in his ſentiments, what elevation! and in the whole of his manner, what weight and dignity! His compoſitions, it is true, are not retouched with care; they want the poliſh of the laſt hand; what is well begun, is ſeldom highly finiſhed; and yet he, if any one, deſerves to be the ſtudy of the Roman youth. In him they will find what can, at once, quicken their genius, and enrich the underſtanding. *Damnum enim, illius immaturo interitu, res Romanæ, Latinæque literæ fecerunt. Utinam non tam fratri pietatem, quam patriæ præſtare voluiſſet. Eloquentia quidem neſcio an habuiſſet parem: grandis eſt verbis, ſapiens ſententiis, genere toto gravis. Manus extrema non acceſſit operibus ejus; præclarè inchoata multa, perfecta non plane. Legendus eſt hic orator, ſi quiſquam alius, juventuti; non enim ſolum acuere, ſed etiam alere ingenium poteſt. De Claris Orat.* ſ. 125, 126.

(*e*) This is the celebrated Marcus Portius Cato, commonly known by the name of Cato the cenſor. He was quæſtor under Scipio, who commanded

manded againſt the Carthaginians, A. U. C. 548. He roſe through the regular gradations of the magiſtracy to the conſulſhip. When prætor, he governed the province of Sardinia, and exerted himſelf in the reform of all abuſes introduced by his predeceſſors. From his own perſon, and his manner of living, he baniſhed every appearance of luxury. When he had occaſion to viſit the towns that lay within his government, he went on foot, clothed with the plaineſt attire, without a vehicle following him, or more than one ſervant, who carried the robe of office, and a vaſe, to make libations at the altar. He ſat in judgment with the dignity of a magiſtrate, and puniſhed every offence with inflexible rigour. He had the happy art of uniting in his own perſon two things almoſt incompatible; namely, ſtrict ſeverity and ſweetneſs of manners. Under his adminiſtration, juſtice was at once terrible and amiable. Plutarch relates that he never wore a dreſs that coſt more than thirty ſhillings; that his wine was no better than what was conſumed by his ſlaves; and that, by leading a laborious life, he meant to harden his conſtitution for the ſervice of his country. He never ceaſed to condemn the luxury of the times. On this ſubject a remarkable apothegm is recorded by Plutarch: *It is impoſſible*, ſaid Cato, *to ſave a city, in which a ſingle fiſh ſells for more money than an ox.* The account given of him by Cicero in the Cato Major excites our veneration of the man. He was maſter of every liberal art, and every branch of ſcience, known in that age. Some men roſe to eminence by their ſkill in juriſprudence; others by their eloquence; and a great number by their military talents. Cato ſhone in all alike. The patricians were often leagued againſt him; but his virtue and his eloquence were a match for

the proudeſt connections. He was choſen CENSOR, in oppoſition to a number of powerful candidates, A. U. C. 568. He was the adviſer of the third Punic war. The queſtion occaſioned ſeveral warm debates in the ſenate. Cato always inſiſted on the demolition of Carthage: DELENDA EST CARTHAGO. He preferred an accuſation againſt Servius Sulpicius Galba on a charge of peculation in Spain, A. U. C. 603; and, though he was then ninety years old, according to Livy (Cicero ſays, he lived to eighty-five), he conducted the buſineſs with ſo much vigour, that Galba, in order to excite compaſſion, produced his children before the ſenate, and by that artifice eſcaped a ſentence of condemnation. Quintilian gives the following character of Cato the cenſor: His genius, like his learning, was univerſal: hiſtorian, orator, lawyer, he cultivated the three branches; and what he undertook, he touched with a maſter-hand. The ſcience of huſbandry was alſo his. Great as his attainments were, they were acquired in camps, amidſt the din of arms; and in the city of Rome, amidſt ſcenes of contention, and the uproar of civil diſcord. Though he lived in rude, unpoliſhed times, he applied himſelf, when far advanced in the vale of years, to the ſtudy of Greek literature, and, thereby, gave a ſignal proof that even in old age the willing mind may be enriched with new ſtores of knowledge. *Marcus Cenſorius Cato, idem orator, idem hiſtoriæ conditor, idem juris, idem rerum ruſticarum peritiſſimus fuit. Inter tot opera militiæ, tantas domi contentiones, rudi ſæculo literas Græcas, ætate jam declinatâ didicit, ut eſſet hominibus documento, ea quoque percipi poſſe, quæ ſenes concupiſſent.* Lib. xii. cap. 11.

(f) Lucius Licinius Craſſus is often mentioned, and always to his advantage, by Cicero DE CLARIS ORATORIBUS. He was born, as appears

appears in that treatiſe (ſection 161), during the conſulſhip of Lælius and Cæpio, A. U. 614: he was contemporary with Antonius, the celebrated orator, and father of Antony the triumvir. Craſſus was about four-and-thirty years older than Cicero. When Philippus the conſul ſhewed himſelf diſpoſed to encroach on the privileges of the ſenate, and, in the preſence of that body, offered indignities to Licinius Craſſus, the orator, as Cicero informs us, broke out in a blaze of eloquence againſt that violent outrage, concluding with that remarkable ſentence: He ſhall not be to me A CONSUL, to whom I am not A SENATOR. *Non es mihi conſul, quia nec ego tibi ſenator ſum.* See *Valerius Maximus*, lib. xli. cap. 2. Cicero has given his oratorical character. He poſſeſſed a wonderful dignity of language, could enliven his diſcourſe with wit and pleaſantry, never deſcending to vulgar humour; refined, and poliſhed, without a tincture of ſcurrility. He preſerved the true Latin idiom; in his ſelection of words accurate, with apparent facility; no ſtiffneſs, no affectation appeared; in his train of reaſoning always clear and methodical; and, when the cauſe hinged upon a queſtion of law, or the moral diſtinctions of good and evil, no man poſſeſſed ſuch a fund of argument, and happy illuſtration. *Craſſo nihil ſtatuo fieri potuiſſe perfectius: erat ſumma gravitas; erat cum gravitate junctus facetiarum et urbanitatis oratorius, non ſcurrilis, lepos. Latinè loquendi accurata, et, ſine moleſtiâ, diligens elegantia; indifferendo mira explicatio; cum de jure civiti, cum de æquo et bono diſputaretur, argumentorum et ſimilitudinum copia.* *De Claris Orat.* ſ. 143. In Cicero's books DE ORATORE, Licinius Craſſus ſupports a capital part in the dialogue; but in the opening of the third book,

we have a pathetic account of his death, written, as the Italians ſay, *con amore*. Craſſus returned from his villa, where the dialogue paſſed, to take part in the debate againſt Philippus the conſul, who had declared to an aſſembly of the people, that he was obliged to ſee new counſellors, for with ſuch a ſenate he could not conduct the affairs of the commonwealth. The conduct of Craſſus, upon that occaſion, has been mentioned already. The vehemence, with which he exerted himſelf, threw him into a violent fever, and, on the ſeventh day following, put a period to his life. Then, ſays Cicero, that tuneful ſwan expired: we hoped once more to hear the melody of his voice, and went, in that expectation, to the ſenate-houſe; but all that remained was to gaze on the ſpot where that eloquent orator ſpoke for the laſt time in the ſervice of his country. *Illud immortalitate dignum ingenium, illa humanitas, illa virtus Lucii Craſſi morte extincta ſubitâ eſt, vix diebus decem poſt eum diem, qui hoc et ſuperiore libro continuetur. Illa tanquam cycnea fuit divini hominis vox, et oratio, quam quaſi expectantes, poſt ejus interitum, veniebamus in curiam, ut veſtigium illud ipſum, in quo ille poſtremum inſtitiſſet, contuereimur. De Orat.* lib. iii. ſ. 1 and 6. This paſſage will naturally call to mind the death of the great Earl of Chatham. He went, in a feeble ſtate of health, to attend a debate of the firſt importance. Nothing could detain him from the ſervice of his country. The dying notes of the BRITISH SWAN were heard in the Houſe of Peers. He was conveyed to his own houſe, and on the eleventh of May 1778, he breathed his laſt. The news reached the Houſe of Commons late in the evening, when Colonel BARRE had the honour of being the firſt to ſhed a patriot tear on that melancholy

choly occaſion. In a ſtrain of manly ſorrow, and with that unprepared eloquence which the heart inſpires, he moved for a funeral at the public expence, and a monument to the memory of virtue and departed genius. By performing that pious office, Colonel BARRE may be ſaid to have made his own name immortal. Hiſtory will record the tranſaction.

(*g*) Meſſala Corvinus is often, in this Dialogue, called CORVINUS only. See ſ. xii. note (*e*).

(*h*) Appius Claudius was cenſor in the year of Rome 442; dictator, 465; and, having at a very advanced age loſt his ſight, he became better known by the name of APPIUS CÆCUS. Afterwards, A. U. 472, when Pyrrhus, by his ambaſſador, offered terms of peace, and a treaty of alliance, Appius, whom blindneſs, and the infirmities of age, had for ſome time withheld from public buſineſs, deſired to be conveyed in a litter to the ſenate-houſe. Being conducted to his place, he delivered his ſentiments in ſo forcible a manner, that the fathers reſolved to proſecute the war, and never to hear of an accommodation, till Italy was evacuated by Pyrrhus and his army. See Livy, b. xiii. ſ. 31. Cicero relates the ſame fact in his CATO MAJOR, and further adds, that the ſpeech made by APPIUS CÆCUS was then extant. Ovid mentions the temple of Bellona, built and dedicated by Appius, who, when blind, ſaw every thing by the light of his underſtanding, and rejected all terms of accommodation with Pyrrhus.

Hæc ſacrata die Tuſco Bellona duello
Dicitur, et Latio proſpera ſemper adeſt.
Appius eſt auctor, Pyrrho qui pace negatâ
Multum animo vidit, lumine cæcus erat.
FASTORUM, lib. vi. ver. 201.

(*i*) Quintilian

(*i*) Quintilian acknowledges this fact, with his uſual candour. The queſtion concerning ATTIC and ASIATIC eloquence was of long ſtanding. The ſtyle of the former was cloſe, pure, and elegant; the latter was ſaid to be diffuſe and oſtentatious. In the ATTIC, nothing was idle, nothing redundant: the ASIATIC ſwelled above all bounds, affecting to dazzle by ſtrokes of wit, by affectation and ſuperfluous ornament. Cicero was ſaid by his enemies to be an orator of the laſt ſchool. They did not ſcruple to pronounce him turgid, copious to a fault, often redundant, and too fond of repetition. His wit, they ſaid, was the falſe glitter of vain conceit, frigid, and out of ſeaſon; his compoſition was cold, and languid; wire-drawn into amplification, and fuller of meretricious finery than became a man. *Et antiqua quidem illa diviſio inter Aſianos et Atticos fuit; cum hi preſſi, et integri, contra, inflati illi et inanes haberentur; et in his nihil ſuperflueret, illis judicium maximè ac modus deeſſet. Ciceronem tamen et ſuorum hominum temporum inceſſere audebant ut tumidiorem, et Aſianum, et redundantem, et in repetitionibus nimium, et in ſalibus aliquando frigidum, et in compoſitione fractum, exultantem, ac penè (quod procul abſit) viro molliorem.* Quintil. lib. xii. cap. 10. The ſame author adds, that, when the great orator was cut off by Marc Antony's proſcription, and could no longer anſwer for himſelf, the men who either perſonally hated him, or envied his genius, or choſe to pay their court to the triumvirate, poured forth their malignity without reſerve. It is unneceſſary to obſerve, that Quintilian, in ſundry parts of his work, has vindicated Cicero from theſe aſperſions. See ſ. xvii. note (*b*).

(*k*) For Calvus, ſee ſ. xvii. note (*c*). For Brutus, ſee the ſame ſection, note (*d*). What Cicero thought

thought of Calvus has been already quoted from the tract *De Claris Oratoribus*, in note (*c*), f. xvii. By being too ſevere a critic on himſelf, he loſt ſtrength, while he aimed at elegance. It is, therefore, properly ſaid in this Dialogue, that Cicero thought Calvus cold and enervated. But did he think Brutus disjointed, looſe and negligent—*otioſum atque disjunctum?* That he often thought him disjointed is not improbable. Brutus was a cloſe thinker, and he aimed at the preciſion and brevity of Attic eloquence. The ſententious ſpeaker is, of courſe, full and conciſe. He has no ſtudied tranſitions, above the minute care of artful connections. To diſcard the copulatives for the ſake of energy was a rule laid down by the beſt ancient critics. Cicero has obſerved that an oration may be ſaid to be disjointed, when the copulatives are omitted, and ſtrokes of ſentiment follow one another in quick ſucceſſion. *Diſſolutio ſive disjunctio eſt, quæ conjunctionibus e medio ſublatis, partibus ſeparatis effertur, hoc modo: Gere morem parenti; pare cognatis; obſequere amicis; obtempera legibus. Ad Herennium*, lib. iv. f. 41. In this manner, Brutus might appear disjointed, and that figure, often repeated, might grow into a fault. But how is the word OTIOSUS to be underſtood? If it means a neglect of connectives, it may, perhaps, apply to Brutus. There is no room to think that Cicero uſed it in a worſe ſenſe, ſince we find him in a letter to ATTICUS declaring, that the oratorical ſtyle of Brutus was, in language as well as ſentiment, elegant to a degree that nothing could ſurpaſs. *Eſt enim oratio ejus ſcripta elegantiſſimè, ſententiis et verbis, ut nihil poſſit ultra.* A grave philoſopher, like Brutus, might reject the graces of tranſition and regular connection, and, for that reaſon, might be thought negligent and abrupt.

The

The disjointed ſtyle which the French call *ſtyle coupé*, was the manner cultivated by Seneca, for which Caligula pronounced him, ſand without lime; *arenam ſine calce.* Sueton. *Life of Calig.* f. 53. We know from Quintilian, that a ſpirit of emulation, and even jealouſy, ſubſiſted between the eminent orators of Cicero's time; that he himſelf was ſo far from aſcribing perfection to Demoſthenes, that he uſed to ſay, he often found him napping; that Brutus and Calvus ſat in judgment on Cicero, and did not wiſh to conceal their objections; and that the two Pollios were ſo far from being ſatisfied with Cicero's ſtyle and manner, that their criticiſms were little ſhort of declared hoſtility. *Quamquam neque ipſi Ciceroni Demoſthenes videatur ſatis eſſe perfectus, quem dormitare interdum dicit; nec Cicero Bruto Calvoque, qui certè compoſitionem illius etiam apud ipſum reprehendunt; ne Aſinio utrique, qui vitia orationis ejus etiam inimicè pluribus locis inſequuntur.* Quintil. lib. xii. cap. 1.

Section XIX.

(*a*) Caſſius Severus lived in the latter end of the reign of Auguſtus, and through a conſiderable part of that of Tiberius. He was an orator, according to Quintilian, who, if read with due caution, might ſerve as a model worthy of imitation. It is to be regretted, that to the many excellent qualities of his ſtyle he did not add more weight, more ſtrength, and dignity, and thereby give colour and a body to his ſentiments. With thoſe requiſites, he would have ranked with the moſt eminent orators. To his excellent genius he united keen reflection, great energy, and a peculiar

peculiar urbanity, which gave a ſecret charm to his ſpeeches. But the warmth of his temper hurried him on; he liſtened more to his paſſions than to his judgment; he poſſeſſed a vein of wit, but he mingled with it too much acrimony; and wit, when it miſſes its aim, feels the mortification and the ridicule, which uſually attend diſappointed malice. *Multa, ſi cum judicio legatur, dabit imitatione digna* CASSIUS SEVERUS, *qui ſi cæteris virtutibus colorem et gravitatem orationis adjeciſſet, ponendus inter præcipuos foret. Nam et ingenii plurimum eſt in eo, et acerbitas mira, et urbanitas, et vis ſumma; ſed plus ſtomacho quàm conſilio dedit; præterea ut amari ſales, ita frequenter amaritudo ipſa ridicula eſt.* Lib. x. cap. 1. We read in Suetonius (*Life of Octavius*, ſ. 56), that Caſſius had the hardineſs to inſtitute a proſecution for the crime of poiſoning againſt Aſprenas Nonius, who was, at the time, linked in the cloſeſt friendſhip with Auguſtus. Not content with accuſations againſt the firſt men in Rome, he choſe to vent his malevolence in lampoons and defamatory libels, againſt the moſt diſtinguiſhed of both ſexes. It was this that provoked Horace to declare war againſt Caſſius, in an ode (lib. v. ode 6), which begins *Quid immerentes hoſpites vexas, canis.* See an account of his malevolent ſpirit, *Annals*, b. i. ſ. 72. He was at length condemned for his indiſcriminate abuſe, and baniſhed by Auguſtus to the iſle of Crete. But his ſatirical rage was not to be controlled. He continued in exile to diſcharge his malignity, till, at laſt, at the end of ten years, the ſenate took cognizance of his guilt, and Tiberius ordered him to be removed from Crete to the rock of Seriphos, where he languiſhed in old age and miſery. See *Annals*, b. iv. ſ. 21. The period of ancient oratory ended about the time when Caſſius began

began his career. He was the firſt of the new ſchool.

(*b*) Theſe two rhetoricians flouriſhed in the time of Auguſtus. Apollodorus, we are told by Quintilian (b. iii. chap. 1), was the preceptor of Auguſtus. He taught in oppoſition to Theodorus Gadareus, who read lectures at Rhodes, and was attended by Tiberius during his retreat in that iſland. The two contending maſters were the founders of oppoſite ſects, called the *Apollodorean* and *Theodorian*. But true eloquence which knows no laws but thoſe of nature and good ſenſe, gained nothing by party-diviſions. Literature was diſtracted by new doctrines; rhetoric became a trick in the hands of ſophiſts, and all ſound oratory diſappeared. Hermagoras, Quintilian ſays, in the chapter already cited, was the diſciple of Theodorus.

Section XX.

(*a*) Doctor Middleton ſays, "Of the ſeven excellent orations, which now remain on the ſubject of VERRES, the two firſt only were ſpoken; the one called, *The Divination*; the other, *The firſt Action*, which is nothing more than a general preface to the whole cauſe. The other five were publiſhed afterwards, as they were prepared and intended to be ſpoken, if VERRES had made a regular defence: for as this was the only cauſe, in which Cicero had yet been engaged, or ever deſigned to be engaged, as *an accuſer*, ſo he was willing to leave thoſe orations as a ſpecimen of his abilities in that way, and the *pattern of a juſt and diligent impeachment of a great and corrupt magiſtrate.*" *Life of Cicero*, vol. i. p. 86, 4to edit.

(*b*) The

(*b*) The Digeſt enumerates a multitude of rules, concerning *exceptions* to perſons, things, the form of the action, the niceties of pleading, and, as the phraſe is, motions in arreſt of judgment. *Formula*, was the ſet of words neceſſary to be uſed in the pleadings. See the *Digeſt*, lib. xliv. tit. 1. *De Exceptionibus, Præſcriptionibus, et Præjudiciis.* See alſo Cujacius, *Obſervat.* xxiii.

(*c*) The oration for Marcus Tullius is highly praiſed by Macrobius, but is not to be found in Cicero's works. The oration for Aulus Cæcina is ſtill extant. The cauſe was about the right of ſucceſſion to a private eſtate, which depended on a ſubtle point of law, ariſing from the interpretation of the prætor's interdict. It ſhews Cicero's exact knowledge and ſkill in the civil law, and that his public character and employment gave no interruption to his uſual diligence in pleading cauſes. Middleton's *Life of Cicero*, vol. i. p. 116, 4to edit.

(*d*) Roſcius, in the laſt period of the republic, was the comedian, whom all Rome admired for his talents. The great eſteemed and loved him for his morals. Æſop, the tragedian, was his contemporary. Horace, in the epiſtle to Auguſtus, has mentioned them both with their proper and diſtinctive qualities.

——————Ea cum reprehendere coner
Quæ GRAVIS Æsopus, quæ DOCTUS Roscius egit.

A certain meaſured gravity of elocution being requiſite in tragedy, that quality is aſſigned to the former, and the latter is called DOCTUS, becauſe he was a complete maſter of his art; ſo truly learned in the principles of his profeſſion, that he poſſeſſed, in a wonderful degree, the ſecret charm that gave inimitable graces to his voice and action.

on. Quintilian, in a few words, has given a commentary on the paſſage in Horace. Grief, he ſays, is expreſſed by ſlow and deliberate accents; for that reaſon, Æſop ſpoke with gravity; Roſcius with quickneſs; the former being a tragedian, the latter a comedian. *Plus autem affectus habent lentiora: ideoque Roſcius citatior, Æſopus gravior fuit, quod ille comœdias, hic tragœdias egit.* Lib. xi. cap. 1. Cicero was the great friend and patron of Roſcius. An elegant oration in his behalf is ſtill extant. The cauſe was this: One FANNIUS had made over to Roſcius a young ſlave, to be formed by him to the ſtage, on condition of a partnerſhip in the profits which the ſlave ſhould acquire by acting. The ſlave was afterwards killed. Roſcius proſecuted the murderer for damages, and obtained, by compoſition, a little farm, worth about eight hundred pounds, for his particular ſhare. FANNIUS alſo ſued ſeparately, and was ſuppoſed to have gained as much; but, pretending to have recovered nothing, he ſued ROSCIUS for the moiety of what he had received. One cannot but obſerve, ſays Dr. Middleton, from Cicero's pleading, the wonderful eſteem and reputation in which Roſcius then flouriſhed. Has Roſcius, ſays he, defrauded his partner? Can ſuch a ſtain ſtick upon ſuch a man; a man, who, I ſpeak it with confidence, has more integrity than ſkill, more veracity than experience? a man, whom the people of Rome know to be a better citizen than he is an actor; and, while he makes the firſt figure on the ſtage for his art, is worthy of a ſeat in the ſenate for his virtue. *Quem populus Romanus meliorem virum quam hiſtrionem eſſe arbitratur; qui ita digniſſimus eſt ſcenâ propter artificium, ut digniſſimus ſit curiâ propter abſtinentiam. Pro Roſcio Comœdo,* ſ. 17. In another place, Cicero ſays, he was ſuch an artiſt, as to ſeem the only one fit to appear on the ſtage; yet

ſuch

ſuch a man, as to ſeem the only one who ſhould not come upon it at all. *Cum artifex ejuſmodi ſit, ut ſolus dignus videatur eſſe qui in ſcenâ ſpectetur; tum vir ejuſmodi eſt, ut ſolus dignus videatur, qui eo non accedat. Pro Publ. Quinctio*, ſ. 78. What Cicero has ſaid in his pleadings might be thought oratorical, introduced merely to ſerve the cauſe, if we did not find the comedian praiſed with equal warmth in the dialogue De Oratore. It is there ſaid of Roſcius, that every thing he did, was perfect in the kind, and executed with conſummate grace, with a ſecret charm, that touched, affected, and delighted the whole audience; inſomuch, that when a man excelled in any other profeſſion, it was grown into a proverb to call him, the Roscius of his art. *Videtiſne, quam nihil ab eo niſi perfectè, nihil niſi cum ſummâ venuſtate fiat? nihil, niſi ita ut deceat, et uti omnes moveat, atque delectet? Itaque hoc jam diu eſt conſecutus, ut in quo quiſque artificio excelleret, is in ſuo genere Roſcius diceretur. De Orat.* lib. i. ſ. 130. After ſo much honourable teſtimony, one cannot but wonder why the Doctus Roscius of Horace is mentioned in this Dialogue with an air of diſparagement. It may be, that Aper, the ſpeaker in this paſſage, was determined to degrade the orators of antiquity; and the comedian was, therefore, to expect no quarter. Dacier, in his notes on the Epiſtle to Auguſtus, obſerves that Roſcius wrote a book, in which he undertook to prove to Cicero, that in all the ſtores of eloquence there were not ſo many different expreſſions for one and the ſame thing, as in the dramatic art there were modes of action, and caſts of countenance, to mark the ſentiment, and convey it to the mind with its due degree of emotion. It is to be lamented that ſuch a book has not come down to us. It would, perhaps, be more valuable than the beſt treatiſe of rhetoric.

Ambivius

Ambivius Turpio acted in moſt of Terence's plays, and ſeems to have been a manager of the theatre. Cicero, in the treatiſe *De Senectute*, ſays: He, who ſat near him in the firſt rows, received the greateſt pleaſure; but ſtill, thoſe, who were at the further end of the theatre, were delighted with him. *Turpione Ambivio magis delectatur, qui in primâ caveâ ſpectat; delectatur tamen etiam qui in ultimâ.*

(*e*) Accius and Pacuvius flouriſhed at Rome about the middle of the ſixth century from the foundation of the city. Accius, according to Horace, was held to be a poet of a ſublime genius, and Pacuvius (who lived to be ninety years old) was reſpected for his age, and profound learning.

> Ambigitur quoties uter utro ſit prior, aufert
> Pacuvius docti famam ſenis, Accius alti.
> Epist. ad Aug. ver. 56.

Velleius Paterculus ſays, that Accius was thought equal to the beſt writers of the Greek tragedy. He had not, indeed, the diligent touches of the poliſhing hand, which we ſee in the poets of Athens; but he had more ſpirit and vigour. *Accius uſque in Græcorum comparationem erectus. In illis limæ, in hoc penè plus videri fuiſſe ſanguinis.* He is often quoted by Cicero in his book *De Naturâ Deorum.* But after all, it is from the great critic, who gives the beſt account of the Roman poets, orators, and hiſtorians, that we are to take the genuine character of Accius and Pacuvius, ſince their works are loſt in the general maſs of ancient literature. They were both excellent tragic poets: elevation of ſentiment, grandeur of expreſſion, and dignity of character ſtamped a value on their productions; and yet, we

we muſt not expect to find the grace and elegance of genuine compoſition. To give the finiſhing hand to their works was not their practice: the defect, however, is not to be imputed to them; it was the vice of the age. Force and dignity are the characteriſtics of ACCIUS; while the critics, who wiſh to be thought deep and profound, admire PACUVIUS for his extenſive learning. *Tragœdiæ ſcriptores Accius atque Pacuvius, clariſſimi ſententiarum verborumque pondere, et auctoritate perſonarum. Cæterum nitor, et ſumma in excolendis operibus manus, magis videri poteſt temporibus, quam ipſis defuiſſe. Virium tamen Accio plus tribuitur; Pacuvium videri doctiorem, qui eſſe docti affectant, volunt.* Quintil. lib. x. cap. 1. It was the faſhion in Horace's time to prefer the writers of the old ſchool to the new race that gave ſo much luſtre to the Auguſtan age. In oppoſition to ſuch erroneous criticiſm, the poet pronounces a decided judgment, which ſeems to be confirmed by the opinion of Quintilian.

> Si quædam nimis antiquè, ſi pleraque durè
> Dicere credit eos, ignavè multa fatetur,
> Et ſapit, et mecum facit, et Jove judicat æquo.
> EPIST. AD AUGUST. ver. 66.

> But that ſometimes their ſtyle uncouth appears,
> And their harſh numbers rudely hurt our ears;
> Or that full flatly flows the languid line,
> He, who owns this, has Jove's aſſent and mine.
> FRANCIS'S HORACE.

(f) Lucan was nephew to Seneca, and a poet of great celebrity. He was born, in the reign of Caligula, at Corduba in Spain. His ſuperior genius made Nero his mortal enemy. He was put to death by that inhuman emperor, A. U. C. 818, in

in the twenty-ſeventh year of his age. See the *Annals*, b. xv. ſ. 70. As a writer, Quintilian ſays, that he poſſeſſed an ardent genius, impetuous, rapid, and remarkable for the vigour of his ſentiments: but he chooſes to claſs him with the orators, rather than the poets. *Lucanus ardens, et concitatus, et ſententiis clariſſimus; et, ut dicam quod ſentio, magis oratoribus quam poetis annumerandus.* Lib. x. cap. 1. Scaliger, on the other hand, contends that Lucan was a true poet, and that the critics do but trifle, when they object that he wrote hiſtory, not an epic poem. STRADA, in his Proluſions, has given, among other imitations, a narrative in Lucan's manner; and, though he thinks that poet has not the ſkill of Virgil, he places him on the ſummit of Parnaſſus, managing his Pegaſus with difficulty, often in danger of falling from the ridge of a precipice, yet delighting his reader with the pleaſure of ſeeing him eſcape. This is the true character of Lucan. The love of Liberty was his ruling paſſion. It is but juſtice to add, that his ſentiments, when free from *antitheſis* and the *Ovidian* manner, are not excelled by any poet of antiquity. From him, as well as from Virgil and Horace, the orator is required to cull ſuch paſſages as will help to enrich his diſcourſe; and the practice is recommended by Quintilian, who obſerves, that Cicero, Aſinius Pollio, and others, frequently cited verſes from Ennius, Accius, Pacuvius, and Terence, in order to grace their ſpeeches with polite literature, and enliven the imagination of their hearers. By thoſe poetic inſertions, the ear is relieved from the harſh monotony of the forum; and the poets, cited occaſionally, ſerve by their authority to eſtabliſh the propoſition advanced by the ſpeaker. *Nam præcipue quidem apud Ciceronem, frequenter tamen apud Aſinium etiam, et cæteros,*

cæteros, qui sunt proximi, vidimus Ennii, Accii, Pacuvii, Terentii *et aliorum inferi versus, summâ non eruditionis modò gratiâ, sed etiam jucunditatis; cum poeticis voluptatibus aures a forensi asperitate respirent, quibus accedit non mediocris utilitas, cum sententiis eorum, velut quibusdam testimoniis, quæ proposuere confirmant.* Quintil. lib. i. cap. 8.

Section XXI.

(*a*) There is in this place a blunder of the copyists, which almost makes the sentence unintelligible. The translator, without entering into minute controversies, has, upon all such occasions, adopted what appeared, from the context, to be the most probable sense. It remains, therefore, to enquire, who were the several orators here enumerated. Canutius may be the person mentioned by Suetonius *De Claris Rhetoribus.* Cicero says of Arrius, that he was a striking proof of what consequence it was at Rome to be useful to others, and always ready to be subservient to their honour, or to ward off danger. For, by that assiduity, Arrius raised himself from a low beginning to wealth and honours, and was even ranked in the number of orators, though void of learning, and without genius, or abilities. *Loco infimo natus, et honores, et pecuniam, et gratiam consecutus, etiam in patronorum, sine doctrinâ, sine ingenio, aliquem numerum pervenerat. De Claris Orat.* f. 243. Furnius may be supposed, not without probability, to be the person with whom Cicero corresponded. *Epist. ad Familiaris,* lib. x. ep. 25, 26. With regard to Terrianus we are left in the dark. The commentators offer various conjectures; but conjecture is often a specious amusement; the ingenious folly of men,

who take pains to bewilder themſelves, and reaſon only to ſhew their uſeleſs learning.

(*b*) The puny orators are ſaid to be an infirmary, like ſickly men, who were nothing but ſkin and bone. Theſe, ſays Cicero, were admirers of the Attic manner; but it were to be wiſhed that they had the wholeſome blood, not merely the bones of their favourite declaimers. *Attico genere dicendi ſe gaudere dicunt; atque utinam imitarentur nec oſſa ſolum, ſed etiam et ſanguinem.* Cicero *De Claris Oratoribus.*

(*c*) What is here ſaid of Calvus is not confirmed by the judgment of Quintilian. See ſ. xvii. note (*c*). His orations, which were extant at the time of this Dialogue, are now totally loſt.

(*d*) For Quintilian's opinion of Cælius, ſee ſ. xvii. note (*c*).

(*e*) Here again Quintilian, that candid and able judge, has given a different opinion. See ſ. xvii. note (*b*). It may be proper to add the teſtimony of Velleius Paterculus. Cæſar, he ſays, had an elevation of ſoul, that towered above humanity, and was almoſt incredible: the rapid progreſs of his wars, his firmneſs in the hour of danger, and the grandeur of his vaſt conceptions, bore a near affinity to Alexander, but to Alexander neither drunk, nor mad with paſſion. *Animo ſuper humanam et naturam, et fidem evectus, celeritate bellandi, patientiâ periculorum, magnitudine cogitationum; magno illi Alexandro, ſed ſobrio neque iracundo, ſimillimus.* *Vell. Patercul.* lib. ii. ſ. 41. Even Cicero tells us, that, of all the eminent orators, he was the perſon who ſpoke the Latin language in the greateſt purity, and arrived at that conſummate perfection by ſtudy, by diligent application, and his thorough knowledge of all polite literature. *Illum omnium ferè oratorum Latinè loqui elegantiſſimè: ut eſſet perfecta illa benè loquendi*

quendi laus, multis litteris, et iis quidem recondi-tis et exquiſitis, ſummoque ſtudio et diligentiâ eſt conſecutus. De Claris Orat. f. 252.

(f) Cæſar's ſpeech for Decius the Samnite, and all his other productions (except the Commentaries), are totally loſt.

(g) This ſpeech of Brutus is alſo loſt with his other works. Cicero ſays, he heard him plead the cauſe of Dejotarus with great elegance, and a flow of harmonious periods. *Cauſam Dejotari, fideliſſimi atque optimi regis, ornatiſſimè et copioſiſ-ſimè a Bruto me audiſſe defenſam. De Claris Orat.* f. 21. He tells us, in another place, that Cæſar obſerved of Brutus, that whatever he deſired, he deſired with ardour; and therefore, in the cauſe of Dejotarus, he exerted himſelf with warmth, with vehemence, and great freedom of language. *Quidquid vult, valde vult; ideoque, cum pro rege Dejotaro dixerit, valdè vehementer eum viſum, et liberè dicere. Ad Attic.* lib. xiv. ep. 1. The ſame Dejotarus was, afterwards, defended by Cicero before Cæſar himſelf. See the Oration *pro Regè Dejotaro.*

(*h*) See what is ſaid of Aſinius Pollio, f. xii. note (*e*).

(*i*) Pliny the younger has the ſame metaphorical alluſions, which we here find in the Dialogue. Speaking of the difference between the oratorial and hiſtorical ſtyle; the latter, he ſays, may be content with the bones, the muſcles and the nerves; the former muſt have the prominence of the fleſh, the brawny vigour, and the flowing mane. *Habent quidem oratio et hiſtoria multa communia, ſed plura diverſa in his ipſis, quæ communia videntur. Narrat ſane illa, narrat hæc, ſed aliter. Huic pleraque humilia, et ſordida, et ex medio petita: illi omnia recondita, ſplendida, ex-celſa conveniunt. Hanc ſæpius oſſa, muſculi, ner-*

vi; *illam tori quidam, et quaſi jubæ decent.* Lib. v. epiſt. 8.

(*k*) Meſſala Corvinus has been often mentioned. See for him ſ. xii. note (*e*).

Section XXII.

(*a*) The words *ſententia* and *ſenſus* were technical terms with the critics of antiquity. Quintilian gives the diſtinct meaning of each, with his uſual preciſion. According to the eſtabliſhed uſage, the word *ſenſus* ſignifies our ideas or conceptions, as they riſe in the mind: by *ſententia* was intended, a propoſition, in the cloſe of a period, ſo expreſſed, as to dart a ſudden brilliancy, for that reaſon called *lumen orationis.* He ſays, theſe artificial ornaments, which the ancients uſed but ſparingly, were the conſtant practice of the modern orators. *Conſuetudo jam tenuit, ut mente concepta,* SENSUS *vocaremus*; *lumina autem, præcipuèque in clauſulis poſita,* SENTENTIAS. *Quæ minus crebra apud antiquos, noſtris temporibus modo carent.* Lib. viii. cap. 5. Theſe luminous ſentences, Quintilian ſays, may be called the eyes of an oration; but eyes are not to be placed in every part, leſt the other members ſhould loſe their function. *Ego vero hæc lumina orationis velut oculos quoſdam eſſe eloquentiæ credo: ſed neque oculos eſſe toto corpore velim, ne cætera membra ſuum officium perdant.* Lib. viii. cap. 5. As Cowley ſays,

> Jewels at noſe and lips but ill appear;
> Rather than all things wit, let none be there.

(*b*) In order to form a good ſtyle, the ſentence ſhould always be cloſed with variety, ſtrength, and

and harmony. The ancient rhetoricians held this to be ſo eſſentially requiſite, that Quintilian has given it a full diſcuſſion. That, he ſays, which offends the ear, will not eaſily gain admiſſion to the mind. Words ſhould be fitted to their places, ſo that they may aptly coaleſce with one another. In building, the moſt ill ſhapen ſtones may be conveniently fixed; and in like manner, a good ſtyle muſt have proper words in proper places, all arranged in order, and cloſing the ſentence with grace and harmony. *Nihil intrare poteſt in affectum, quod in aure, velut quodam veſtibulo, ſtatim offendit. Non enim ad pedes verba dimenſa ſunt; ideoque ex loco transferuntur in locum, ut jungantur quo congruunt maximè; ſicut in ſtructurâ ſaxorum rudium etiam ipſa enormitas invenit cui applicari, et in quo poſſit inſiſtere. Felici ſſimus tamen ſermo eſt, cui et rectus ordo, et apta junctura, et cum his nnmerus opportunè cadens contingit.* Quintil. lib. ix. cap. 4.

Section XXIII.

(*a*) The remark in this place alludes to a paſſage in the oration againſt Piso, where we find a frivolous ſtroke of falſe wit. Cicero reproaches Piſo for his diſſolute manners, and his ſcandalous debauchery. Who, he ſays, in all that time, ſaw you ſober? Who beheld you doing any one thing, worthy of a liberal mind? Did you once appear in public? The houſe of your colleague reſounded with ſongs and minſtrels: he himſelf danced naked in the midſt of his wanton company; and while he *wheeled* about with alacrity in the *circular motion* of the dance, he never once thought of THE WHEEL OF FORTUNE. *Quis te illis diebus ſobrium, quis agentem aliquid, quod eſſet*

ſet libero dignum? Quis denique in publico vidit? Cum collegæ tui domus cantu et cymbalis perſonaret; cumque ipſe nudus in convivio ſaltaret, in quo ne tum quidem, cum illum ſuum SALTATORIUM VERSARET ORBEM, FORTUNÆ ROTAM *pertimeſcebat. Oratio in Piſonem,* prima pars, ſ. 22. Delph. edit. vol. iii.

(*b*) The paſſage here alluded to, preſents us with a double pun. The word *Verres* is the name of a man, and alſo ſignifies a *boar-pig*, as we read in Horace, *Verris obliquum meditantis ictum.* Lib. iii. ode 22. The word *jus* is likewiſe of two-fold meaning, importing *law*, and *ſauce*, or broth; *tepidumque ligurierit jus.* Lib. i. ſat. 3. The objection to Cicero is, that playing on both the words, and taking advantage of their ambiguous meaning, he ſays it could not be matter of wonder that the *Verrian jus* was ſuch bad HOG-SOUP. The wit (if it deſerves that name) is mean enough; but, in juſtice to Cicero, it ſhould be remembered, that he himſelf calls it frigid, and ſays, that the men, who in their anger could be ſo very facetious, as to blame the prieſt who did not ſacrifice ſuch a hog (*Verres*), were idle and ridiculous. He adds, that he ſhould not deſcend to repeat ſuch ſayings (for they were neither witty, nor worthy of notice in ſuch a cauſe), had he not thought it material to ſhew, that the iniquity of VERRES was, in the mouth of the vulgar, a ſubject of ridicule, and a proverbial joke. *Hinc illi homines erant, qui etiam ridiculi inveniebantur ex dolore; quorum alii, ut audiſtis, negabant mirandum eſſe,* JUS *tam nequam eſſe* VERRINUM; *alii etiam frigidiores erant; ſed quia ſtomachabantur, ridiculi videbantur eſſe, cum* SACERDOTEM *execrabantur, qui* VERREM *tam nequam reliquiſſet. Quæ ego non commemorarem (neque enim perfacetè dicta, neque porro hac ſeveritate digna ſunt) niſi vos id vellem recordari,*

recordari, iſtius nequitiam et iniquitatem tum in ore vulgi, atque communibus proverbiis eſſe verſatam. In Verrem, lib. i. pars tertia, ſ. 121.

(*c*) Quintilian acknowledges that the words *eſſe videatur (it ſeems to be)* occur frequently in Cicero's Orations. He adds, that he knew ſeveral, who fancied that they had performed wonders, when they placed that phraſe in the cloſe of a ſentence. *Noveram quoſdam, qui ſe pulchrè expreſſiſſe genus illud cœleſtis hujus in dicendo viri ſibi viderentur, ſi in clauſulâ poſuiſſent eſſe videatur.* Quintil. lib. x. cap. 2.

(*d*) The ſpecies of compoſition, called ſatire, was altogether of Roman growth. Lucilius had the honour of being the inventor; and he ſucceeded ſo well, that, even in Quintilian's time, his admirers preferred him not only to the writers, who followed in the ſame way, but to all poets of every denomination. *Lucilius quoſdam ita deditos ſibi adhuc habet imitatores, ut eum non ejuſdem modo operis, ſed omnibus poetis præferre non dubitent.* Lib. x. cap. 1. The great critic, however, pronounces judgment in favour of Horace, who, he ſays, is more terſe and pure; a more acute obſerver of life, and qualified by nature to touch the ridicule of the manners with the niceſt hand. *Multo eſt terſior, ac purus magis Horatius, et ad notandos hominum mores præcipuus.*

(*e*) Lucretius is not without his partiſans at this hour. Many of the French critics ſpeak of him with rapture; and, in England, Dr. Wharton of Wincheſter ſeems to be at the head of his admirers. He does not ſcruple to ſay that Lucretius had more ſpirit, fire and energy, more of the *vivida vis animi*, than any of the Roman poets. It is neither ſafe nor deſirable to differ from ſo fine a genius as Dr. Wharton. The paſſages, which

which he has quoted from his favourite poet, ſhew great taſte in the ſelection. It ſhould be remembered, however, that Quintilian does not treat Lucretius with the ſame paſſionate fondneſs. He places Virgil next to Homer; and the reſt, he ſays, of the Roman poets follow at a great diſtance. MACER and LUCRETIUS deſerve to be read: they have handled their reſpective ſubjects with taſte and elegance; but Macer has no elevation, and Lucretius is not eaſily underſtood. *Cæteri omnes longe ſequuntur. Nam* MACER *et* LUCRETIUS *legendi quidem; elegantes in ſuâ quiſque materiâ, ſed alter humilis, alter difficilis.* Lib. x. cap. 1. Statius, the poet, who flouriſhed in the reign of Domitian, knew the value of Lucretius, and, in one line, ſeems to have given his true character; *et docti furor arduus Lucreti:* but had he been to decide between him and Virgil, it is probable, that he would ſay to Lucretius, as he did to himſelf,

——————Nec tu divinam Æneida tenta,
Sed longe ſequere, et veſtigia ſemper adora.
THEBAIDOS, lib. xii. ver. 816.

(f) Aufidius Baſſus and Servilius Nonianus were writers of hiſtory. Baſſus, according to Quintilian, deſerved great commendation, particularly in his Hiſtory of the German War. In ſome of his other works he fell ſhort of himſelf. Servilius Nonianus was known to Quintilian, and, in that critic's judgment, was an author of conſiderable merit, ſententious in his manner, but more diffuſe than becomes the hiſtoric character. See Quintilian, lib. x. cap. 1. The death of SERVILIUS, an eminent orator and hiſtorian, is mentioned by Tacitus in the *Annals*, b. xiv. ſ. 19; but the additional name of NONIANUS is omitted.

The

The paſſage, however, is ſuppoſed to relate to the perſon commended by Quintilian. He died in the reign of Nero, A. U. C. 812; of the Chriſtian æra 59.

(g) Varro was univerſally allowed to be the moſt learned of the Romans. He wrote on ſeveral ſubjects with profound erudition. Quintilian ſays, he was completely maſter of the Latin language, and thoroughly converſant in the antiquities of Greece and Rome. His works will enlarge our ſphere of knowledge, but can add nothing to eloquence. *Peritiſſimus linguæ Latinæ, et omnis antiquitatis, et rerum Græcarum, noſtrarumque; plus tamen ſcientiæ collaturus, quam eloquentiæ.* Lib. x. cap. 1.

Siſenna, we are told by Cicero, was a man of learning, well ſkilled in the Roman language, acquainted with the laws and conſtitution of his country, and poſſeſſed of no ſmall ſhare of wit; but eloquence was not his element, and his practice in the forum was inconſiderable. See *De Claris Oratoribus*, ſ. 228. In a ſubſequent part of the ſame work, Cicero ſays, that Siſenna was of opinion, that to uſe uncommon words was the perfection of ſtyle. To prove this, he relates a pleaſant anecdote. One Caius Rufius carried on a proſecution. Siſenna appeared for the defendant; and, to expreſs his contempt of his adverſary, ſaid that many parts of the charge deſerved to be ſpit upon. For this purpoſe he coined ſo ſtrange a word, that the proſecutor implored the protection of the judges. I do not, ſaid he, underſtand Siſenna; I am circumvented; I fear, that ſome ſnare is laid for me: What does he mean by *ſputatilica?* I know that *ſputa* is ſpittle; but what is *tilica?* The court laughed at the oddity of a word ſo ſtrangely compounded. *Rufo accuſante Chritilium, Siſenna defendens dixit, quædam*

dam ejus SPUTATILICA *esse crimina. Tum Caius Rufius, Circumvenior, inquit, judices, nisi subvenitis. Sisenna quid dicat nescio; metuo insidias.* SPUTATILICA! *quid est hoc?* Sputa *quid sit, scio*; tilica *nescio. Maximi risus. De Claris Oratoribus*, f. 260. Whether this was the same Sisenna, who is said in the former quotation to have been a correct speaker, does not appear with any degree of certainty.

(*h*) For the character of Secundus, see f. ii. note (*c*).

(*i*) Quintilian says, the merit of a fine writer flourishes after his death, for envy does not go down to posterity. *Ad posteros enim virtus durabit, nec perveniet invidia.* Lib. iii. cap. 1. Envy is always sure to pursue living merit; and, therefore, Cleo observes to Alexander, that Hercules and Bacchus were not numbered among the gods, till they conquered the malignity of their contemporaries. *Nec Herculem, nec Patrem Liberum prius dicatos deos, quam vicissent secum viventium invidiam.* Quintus Curtius, lib. viii. f. 18. Pliny the younger has a beautiful epistle on this subject. After praising, in the highest manner, the various works of Pompeius Saturninus, he says to his correspondent, Let it be no objection to such an author, that he is still living. If he flourished in a distant part of the world, we should not only procure his books, but we should have his picture in our houses: and shall his fame be tarnished, because we have the man before our eyes? Shall malignity make us cease to admire him, because we see him, hear him, esteem and love him? *Neque enim debet operibus ejus obesse,* QUOD VIVIT. *An si inter eos, quos nunquam vidimus, floruisset, non solum libros ejus, verum etiam imagines conquireremus; ejusdem nunc honor præsentis et gratia quasi satietate languescet? At hoc*

hoc pravum malignumque eſt, non admirari hominem admiratione digniſſimum, quia videre, alloqui, audire, complecti, nec laudare tantum, verum etiam amare contingit. Lib. i. ep. 16.

Section XXIV.

(*a*) In the Dialogues of Plato, and others of the academic ſchool, the ableſt philoſophers occaſionally ſupported a wrong hypotheſis, in order to provoke a thorough diſcuſſion of ſome important queſtion.

(*b*) Cicero was killed on the ſeventh of December, in the conſulſhip of Hirtius and Panſa, A. U. C. 711; before Chriſt, 43. From that time to the ſixth of Veſpaſian the number of years is exactly 117, though in the Dialogue ſaid to be 120. See ſ. xvii. note (*e*).

Section XXV.

(*a*) See Plutarch's Lives of Lyſias, Lycurgus, Demoſthenes, and Hyperides. See alſo the elegant tranſlation of the Orations of Lyſias, by Dr. Gillies.

(*b*) For Quintilian's opinion of Cæſar's eloquence, ſee ſ. xvii. note (*b*). To what is there ſaid may be added the authority of Cicero, who fairly owns, that Cæſar's conſtant habit of ſpeaking his language with purity and correctneſs, exempted him from all the vices of the corrupt ſtyle adopted by others. To that politeneſs of expreſſion (which every well-bred citizen, though he does not aſpire to be an orator, ought to practiſe) when Cæſar adds the ſplendid ornaments of eloquence, he may then be ſaid to place the fineſt pictures

pictures in the beſt light. In his manner there is nothing mechanical, nothing of profeſſional craft; his voice is impreſſive, and his action dignified. To all theſe qualities he unites a certain majeſty of mien and figure, that beſpeaks a noble mind. *Cæſar autem rationem adhibens, conſuetudinem vitioſam et corruptam purâ et incorruptâ conſuetudine emendat. Itaque cum ad hanc elegantiam verborum Latinorum (quæ etiam ſi orator non ſis, et ſis ingenuus civis Romanus, tamen neceſſaria eſt) adjungit illa oratoria ornamenta dicendi; tum videtur tanquam tabulas benè pictas collocare in bono lumine. Hanc cum habeat præcipuam laudem in communibus, non video cui debeat cedere. Splendidam quamdam, minimeque veteratoriam rationem dicendi tenet, voce, motu: formâ etiam magnificâ, et generoſâ quodammodo.* De Claris Oratoribus, ſ. 261.

For Cælis, ſee ſ. xvii. note (*c*); and for Brutus, the ſame ſection, note (*d*).

(*c*) Servius Galba has been already mentioned, ſ. xviii. note (*a*). Caius Lælius was conſul A. U.C. 614; before the Chriſtian æra, 140. He was the intimate friend of Scipio, and the patron of Lucilius, the firſt Roman ſatiriſt. See Horace, lib. ii. ſat. i. ver. 71.

> Quin ubi ſe a vulgo et ſcenâ in ſecreta remórant
> Virtus Scipiadæ, et mitis ſapientia Læli,
> Nugari cum illo, et diſcincti ludere, donec
> Decoqueretur olus, ſoliti.
>
> When Scipio's virtue, and of milder vein
> When Lælius' wiſdom, from the buſy ſcene
> And crowd of life, the vulgar and the great,
> Could with their favourite ſatiriſt retreat,
> Lightly they laugh'd at many an idle jeſt,
> Until their frugal feaſt of herbs was dreſt.
>
> FRANCIS's HORACE.

It

It is probable, that the harſh manner of Lucilius, *durus componere verſus*, infected the eloquence of Lælius, ſince we find in Cicero, that his ſtyle was unpoliſhed, and had much of the ruſt of antiquity. *Multo tamen vetuſtior et horridior ille quam Scipio, et, cum ſint in dicendo variæ voluntates, delectari mihi magis antiquitate videtur, et lubenter verbis etiam uti paulo magis priſcis Lælius. De Claris Oratoribus*, ſ. 83.

Section XXVI.

(*a*) For an account of Caius Gracchus, ſee ſ. xviii. note (*d*).

(*b*) For Lucius Craſſus, ſee ſ. xviii. note *(f)*.

(*c*) The falſe taſte of Mæcenas has been noted by the poets and critics who flouriſhed after his death. His affected prettineſſes are compared to the prim curls, in which women and effeminate men tricked out their hair. Seneca, who was himſelf tainted with affectation, has left a beautiful epiſtle on the very queſtion, that makes the main ſubject of the preſent Dialogue. He points out the cauſes of the corrupt taſte, that debauched the eloquence of thoſe times, and imputes the miſchief to the degeneracy of the manners. Whatever the man was, ſuch was the orator. *Talis oratio qualis vita.* When ancient diſcipline relaxed, luxury ſucceeded, and language became delicate, brilliant, ſpangled with conceits. Simplicity was laid aſide, and quaint expreſſions grew into faſhion. Does the mind ſink into languor? the body moves reluctantly. Is the man ſoftened into effeminacy? you ſee it in his gait. Is he quick and eager? he walks with alacrity. The powers of the underſtanding are affected in the ſame manner.

ner. Having laid this down as his principle, Seneca proceeds to deſcribe the ſoft delicacy of Mæcenas, and he finds the ſame vice in his phraſeology. He cites a number of the lady-like terms, which the great patron of letters conſidered as exquiſite beauties. In all this, ſays he, we ſee the man, who walked the ſtreets of Rome in his open and flowing robe. *Nonne ſtatim, cum hæc legis, occurrit hunc eſſe, qui ſolutis tunicis in urbe ſemper inceſſerit?* Seneca, epiſt. cxiv. What he has ſaid of Mæcenas is perfectly juſt. The fopperies of that celebrated miniſter are in this Dialogue called CALAMISTRI; an alluſion borrowed from Cicero, who praiſes the beautiful ſimplicity of *Cæſar's Commentaries*, and ſays there were men of a vicious taſte, who wanted to apply the *curling-iron*, that is, to introduce the glitter of conceit and antitheſis in the place of truth and nature. *Commentarios quoſdam ſcripſit rerum ſuarum, valde quidem probandos: nudi enim ſunt, et recti, et venuſti, omni ornatu orationis, tanquam veſte, detracto. Ineptis gratum fortaſſe fecit, qui volunt illa* CALAMISTRIS *inurere.* Cicero *De Claris Orat.* ſ. 262.

(*d*) Who Gallio was, is not clearly ſettled by the commentators. Quintilian, lib. iii. cap. 1, makes mention of Gallio, who wrote a treatiſe of eloquence; and in the *Annals*, b. xv. ſ. 73, we find Junius Gallio, the brother of Seneca; but whether either of them is the perſon here intended, remains uncertain. Whoever he was, his eloquence was a tinkling cymbal. Quintilian ſays of ſuch orators, who are all inflated, tumid, corrupt, and jingling, that their malady does not proceed from a full and rich conſtitution, but from mere infirmity; for

As

As in bodies, thus in ſouls we find,
What wants in blood and ſpirits, ſwell'd with wind.

Nam tumidos, et corruptos, et tinnulos, et quocumque alio cacozeliæ genere peccantes, certum habeo, non virium, ſed infirmitatis vitio laborare: ut corpora non robore, ſed valetudine inflantur. Quintilian, lib. ii. cap. 3.

(*e*) Pliny declares, without ceremony, that he was aſhamed of the corrupt effeminate ſtyle that diſgraced the courts of juſtice, and made him think of withdrawing from the forum. He calls it ſing-ſong, and ſays that nothing but muſical inſtruments could be added. *Pudet referre, quæ quam fractâ pronunciatione dicantur; quibus quam teneris clamoribus excipiantur. Plauſus tantum, ac ſola cymbala et tympana illis canticis deſunt.* Pliny, lib. ii. epiſt. 14. The chief aim of Perſius in his firſt ſatire is levelled againſt the bad poets of his time, and alſo the ſpurious orators, who enervated their eloquence by antitheſis, far-fetched metaphors, and points of wit, delivered with the ſofteſt tone of voice, and ridiculous airs of affectation.

Fur es, ait Pedio: Pedius quid? Crimina raſis
Librat in antithetis; doctus poſuiſſe figuras
Laudatur. Bellum hoc! hoc bellum? an Romule ceves?
Men' moveat quippe, et cantet ſi naufragus, aſſem
Protulerim? Cantas, cum fractâ te in trabe pictum
Ex humero portes? PERSIUS, ſat. i. ver. 85.

Theft, ſays th' accuſer, to thy charge I lay,
O Pedius: what does gentle Pedius ſay?
Studious to pleaſe the genius of the times,
With periods, points, and tropes he ſlurs his crimes.
He lards with flouriſhes his long harangue:
'Tis fine, ſay'ſt thou: what, to be prais'd, and hang?
Effeminate Roman! ſhall ſuch ſtuff prevail,
To tickle thee, and make thee wag thy tail?

Say,

Say, ſhould a ſhipwreck'd ſailor ſing his woe,
Wouldſt thou be mov'd to pity, and beſtow
An Alms? What's more prepoſt'rous than to ſee
A merry beggar? Wit in miſery?
DRYDEN'S PERSIUS.

(f) For Caſſius Severus, ſee ſ. xix. note (*a*).

(g) Gabinianus was a teacher of rhetoric in the reign of Veſpaſian. Euſebius, in his Chronicon, eighth of Veſpaſian, ſays, that Gabinianus, a celebrated rhetorician, was a teacher of eloquence in Gaul. *Gabinianus, celeberrimi nominis rhetor, in Galliâ docuit.* His admirers deemed him another Cicero, and, after him, all ſuch orators were called CICERONES GABINIANI.

Section XXVIII.

(*a*) In order to brand and ſtigmatiſe the Roman matrons, who committed the care of their infant children to hired nurſes, Tacitus obſerves, that no ſuch cuſtom was known among the ſavages of Germany. See *Manners of the Germans*, ſ. xx. See alſo Quintilian, on the ſubject of education, lib. i. cap. 2. and 3.

(*b*) Cornelia, the mother of the two Gracchi, was daughter to the firſt Scipio Africanus. The ſons, Quintilian ſays, owed much of their eloquence to the care and inſtitutions of their mother, whoſe taſte and learning were fully diſplayed in her letters, which were then in the hands of the public. *Nam Gracchorum eloquentiæ multum contuliſſe accepimus Corneliam matrem, cujus doctiſſimus ſermo in poſteros quoque eſt epiſtolis traditus.* Quint. lib. i. cap. 1. To the ſame effect Cicero: *Fuit Gracchus diligentiâ Corneliæ matris a puero doctus, et Græcis litteris eruditus.* *De Claris Orat.* ſ. 104. Again, Cicero ſays, we have read the

the letters of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, from which it appears, that the ſons were educated, not ſo much in the lap of their mother, as her converſation. *Legimus epiſtolas Corneliæ, matris Gracchorum: apparet filios non tam in gremio educatos, quam in ſermone matris. De Claris Orat.* ſ. 211. Pliny the elder informs us that a ſtatue was erected to her memory, though Cato the cenſor declaimed againſt ſhewing ſo much honour to women, even in the provinces. But with all his vehemence he could not prevent it in the city of Rome. Pliny, lib. xxxiv. ſ. 14.

(*c*) For Aurelia, the mother of Julius Cæſar, ſee in vol. ii. of this work *The Genealogical Table of the Cæſars*, No. 2.

(*d*) For Atia, the mother of Auguſtus, ſee *Genealogical Table of the Cæſars*, No. 14. As another inſtance of maternal care, Tacitus informs us that Julia Procilla ſuperintended the education of her ſon. See *Life of Agricola*, ſ. iv.

Section XXIX.

(*a*) Quintilian thinks the firſt elements of education ſo highly material, that he has two long chapters on the ſubject. He requires in the firſt place, that the language of the nurſes ſhould be pure and correct. Their manners are of great importance, but, he adds, let them ſpeak with propriety. It is to them that the infant firſt attends; he liſtens, and endeavours to imitate them. The firſt colour, imbibed by yarn or thread, is ſure to laſt. What is bad, generally adheres tenaciouſly. Let the child, therefore, not learn in his infancy, what he muſt, afterwards, take pains to unlearn. *Ante omnia, ne ſit vitioſus ſermo nutricibus. Et morum quidem in his haud dubiè prior*

ratio eſt; rectè tamen etiam loquantur. Has primùm audiet puer; harum verba effingere imitando conabitur. Et naturâ tenaciſſimi ſumus eorum, quæ rudibus annis percipimus; nec lanarum colores, quibus ſimplex ille candor mutatus eſt, elui poſſunt. Et hæc ipſa magis pertinaciter hærent, quæ deteriora ſunt. Non aſſuefcat ergo, ne dum infans quidem eſt, ſermoni, qui dediſcendus eſt. Quint. lib. i. cap. 1. Plutarch has a long diſcourſe on the breeding of children, in which all miſtakes are pointed out, and the beſt rules enforced with great acuteneſs of obſervation.

(*b*) Juvenal has one entire ſatire on the ſubject of education.

> Nil dictu fœdum viſuque hæc limina tangat,
> Intra quæ puer eſt. Procul hinc, procul inde puellæ
> Lenonum, et cantus pernoctantis paraſiti.
> Maxima debetur puero reverentia.
>
> SAT. xiv. ver. 44.

> Suffer no lewdneſs, no indecent ſpeech
> Th' apartment of the tender youth to reach:
> Far be from thence the glutton paraſite,
> Who ſings his drunken catches all the night.
> Boys from their parents may this rev'rence claim.
>
> DRYDEN'S JUVENAL.

(*c*) The rage of the Romans for the diverſions of the theatre, and public ſpectacles of every kind, is often mentioned by Horace, Juvenal, and other writers under the emperors. Seneca ſays, that, at one time, three ways were wanted to as many different theatres: *tribus eodem tempore theatris viæ poſtulantur.* And again, the moſt illuſtrious of the Roman youth are no better than ſlaves to the pantomimic performers. *Oſtendam nobiliſſimos juvenes mancipia pantomimorum.*

rum. Epiſt. 47. It was for this reaſon that Petronius lays it down as a rule to be obſerved by the young ſtudent, never to liſt himſelf in the parties and factions of the theatre:

> ——————Neve plauſor in ſcenâ
> Sedeat redemptus, hiſtrioniæ addictus.

It is well known, that theatrical parties diſtracted the Roman citizens, and roſe almoſt to phrenſy. They were diſtinguiſhed by the *green* and the *blue*. Caligula, as we read in Suetonius, attached himſelf to the former, and was ſo fond of the charioteers, who wore green liveries, that he lived for a conſiderable time in the ſtables, where their horſes were kept. *Praſinæ factioni ita addictus et deditus, ut cœnaret in ſtabulo aſſidue et maneret. Life of Caligula*, ſ. 55. Monteſquieu reckons ſuch party-diviſions among the cauſes that wrought the downfall of the empire. Conſtantinople, he ſays, was ſplit into two factions, the *green* and the *blue*; which owed their origin to the inclination of the people to favour one ſet of charioteers in the circus rather than another. Theſe two parties raged in every city throughout the empire, and their fury roſe in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Juſtinian favoured the *blues*, who became ſo elate with pride, that they trampled on the laws. All ties of friendſhip, all natural affection, and all relative duties were extinguiſhed. Whole families were deſtroyed; and the empire was a ſcene of anarchy and wild contention. He, who felt himſelf capable of the moſt atrocious deeds, declared himſelf a BLUE, and the GREENS were maſſacred with impunity. *Monteſquieu, Grandeur et Décadence des Romains*, chap. xx.

(*d*) Quintilian, in his tenth book, chap. 1, has given a full account of the beſt Greek and Roman

man poets, orators and hiſtorians; and in b. ii. ch. 6, he draws up a regular ſcheme for the young ſtudent to purſue in his courſe of reading. There are, he ſays, two rocks, on which they may ſplit. The firſt, by being led by ſome fond admirer of antiquity to ſet too high a value on the manner of Cato and the Gracchi; for, in that commerce, they will be in danger of growing dry, harſh, and rugged. The ſtrong conception of thoſe men will be beyond the reach of tender minds. Their ſtyle, indeed, may be copied; and the youth may flatter himſelf, when he has contracted the ruſt of antiquity, that he reſembles the illuſtrious orators of a former age. On the other hand, the florid decorations and falſe glitter of the moderns may have a ſecret charm, the more dangerous, and ſeductive, as the petty flouriſhes of our new way of writing may prove acceptable to the youthful mind. *Duo autem genera maximè cavenda pueris puto: unum, ne quis eos antiquitatis nimius admirator in Gracchorum, Catoniſque, et aliorum ſimilium lectione dureſcere velit. Erunt enim horridi atque jejuni. Nam neque vim eorum adhuc intellectu conſequentur; et elocutione, quæ tum ſine dubio erat optima, ſed noſtris temporibus aliena, contenti, quod eſt peſſimum, ſimiles ſibi magnis viris videbuntur. Alterum, quod huic diverſum eſt, ne recentis hujus laſciviæ floſculis capti, voluptate quâdam pravâ deliniantur, ut prædulce illud genus, et puerilibus ingeniis hoc gratius, quo propius eſt, adament.* Such was the doctrine of Quintilian. His practice, we may be ſure, was conſonant to his own rules. Under ſuch a maſter the youth of Rome might be initiated in ſcience, and formed to a juſt taſte for eloquence, and legitimate compoſition; but one man was not equal to the taſk. The rhetoricians and pedagogues of the

the age preferred the novelty and meretricious ornaments of the ſtyle then in vogue.

Section XXX.

(*a*) This is the treatiſe, or hiſtory of the moſt eminent orators (De Claris Oratoribus), which has been ſo often cited in the courſe of theſe notes. It is alſo entitled Brutus; a work replete with the ſoundeſt criticiſm, and by its variety and elegance always charming.

(*b*) Quintus Mucius Scævola was the great lawyer of his time. Cicero draws a compariſon between him and Craſſus. They were both engaged, on oppoſite ſides, in a cauſe before the centumviri. Craſſus proved himſelf the beſt lawyer among the orators of that day, and Scævola the moſt eloquent of the lawyers. *Ut eloquentium juris peritiſſimus Craſſus; juriſperitorum eloquentiſſimus Scævola putaretur. De Claris Orat.* f. 145. During the conſulſhip of Sylla, A. U. C. 666, Cicero, being then in the nineteenth year of his age, and wiſhing to acquire a competent knowledge of the principles of juriſprudence, attached himſelf to Mucius Scævola, who did not undertake the taſk of inſtructing pupils, but, by converſing freely with all, who conſulted him, gave a fair opportunity to thoſe, who thirſted after knowledge. *Ego autem juris civilis ſtudio, multum operæ dabam Q. Scævolæ, qui quamquam nemini ſe ad docendum dabat, tamen, conſulentibus reſpondendo, ſtudioſos audiendi docebat. De Claris Orat.* f. 306.

(*c*) Philo was a leading philoſopher of the academic ſchool. To avoid the fury of Mithridates, who waged a long war with the Romans, he fled from

from Athens, and, with ſome of the moſt eminent of his fellow-citizens, repaired to Rome. Cicero was ſtruck with his philoſophy, and became his pupil. *Cum princeps academiæ Philo, cum Athenienſium optimatibus, Mithridatico bello, domo profugiſſet, Romamque veniſſet, totum ei me tradidi, admirabili quodam ad philoſophiam ſtudio concitatus. De Claris Orat.* f. 306.

Cicero adds, that he gave board and lodging, at his own houſe, to Diodotus the ſtoic, and, under that maſter, employed himſelf in various branches of literature, but particularly in the ſtudy of logic, which may be conſidered as a mode of eloquence, contracted, cloſe, and nervous. *Eram cum ſtoico Diodoto: qui cum habitaviſſet apud me, mecumque vixiſſet, nuper eſt domi meæ mortuus. A quo, cum in aliis rebus, tum ſtudioſiſſime in dialecticâ exercebar, quæ quaſi contracta et adſtricta eloquentia putanda eſt. De Claris Orat.* f. 309.

(*d*) Cicero gives an account of his travels, which he undertook, after having employed two years in the buſineſs of the forum, where he gained an early reputation. At Athens, he paſſed ſix months with Antiochus, the principal philoſopher of the old academy, and, under the direction of that able maſter, reſumed thoſe abſtract ſpeculations which he had cultivated from his earlieſt youth. Nor did he neglect his rhetorical exerciſes. In that purſuit, he was aſſiſted by Demetrius, the Syrian, who was allowed to be a ſkilful preceptor. He paſſed from Greece into Aſia; and, in the courſe of his travels through that country, he lived in conſtant habits with Menippus of Stratonica; a man eminent for his learning; who, if to be neither frivolous, nor unintelligible, is the character of Attic eloquence, might be fairly called a diſciple of that ſchool. He met with many

other

other profeſſors of rhetoric, ſuch as Dionyſius of Magneſia, Æſchylus of Cnidos, and Zenocles of Adramytus; but not content with their aſſiſtance, he went to Rhodes, and renewed his friendſhip with Molo, whom he had heard at Rome, and knew to be an able pleader in real cauſes; a fine writer, and a judicious critic, who could, with a juſt diſcernment of the beauties as well as the faults of a compoſition, point out the road to excellence, and improve the taſte of his ſcholars. In his attention to the Roman orator, the point he aimed at (Cicero will not ſay that he ſucceeded) was, to lop away ſuperfluous branches, and confine within its proper channel a ſtream of eloquence, too apt to ſwell above all bounds, and overflow its banks. After two years thus ſpent in the purſuit of knowledge, and improvement in his oratorical profeſſion, Cicero returned to Rome, almoſt a new man. *Is* (Molo) *dedit operam (ſi modo id conſequi potuit) ut niDis redundantes nos, et ſuperfluentes juvenili quadam dicendi impunitate, et licentiâ, re primeret, et quaſi extra ripas diffluentes coerceret. Ita recepi me biennio poſt, non modo exercitatior, ſed propè mutatus.* See *De Claris Oratoribus*, ſ. 315 and 316.

(*e*) Cicero is here ſaid to have been a complete maſter of philoſophy, which, according to Quintilian, was divided into three branches, namely, phyſics, ethics, and logic. It has been mentioned in this ſection, note (*c*), that Cicero called logic a contracted and cloſe mode of eloquence. That obſervation is fully explained by Quintilian. Speaking of logic, the uſe, he ſays, of that contentious art, conſiſts in juſt definition, which preſents to the mind the preciſe idea; and in nice diſcrimination, which marks the eſſential difference of things. It is this faculty that throws a ſudden

ſudden light on every difficult queſtion, removes all ambiguity, clears up what was doubtful, divides, develops, and ſeparates, and then collects the argument to a point. But the orator muſt not be too fond of this cloſe combat. The minute attention, which logic requires, will exclude what is of higher value; while it aims at preciſion, the vigour of the mind is loſt in ſubtlety. We often ſee men, who argue with wonderful craft; but, when petty controverſy will no longer ſerve their purpoſe, we ſee the ſame men without warmth or energy, cold, languid, and unequal to the conflict; like thoſe little animals, which are briſk in narrow places, and by their agility baffle their purſuers, but in the open field are ſoon overpowered. *Hæc pars dialectica, ſive illam dicere malimus diſputatricem, ut eſt utilis ſæpe et finitionibus, et comprehenſionibus, et ſeparandis quæ ſunt differentia, et reſolvendâ ambiguitate, et diſtinguendo, dividendo, illiciendo, implicando; ita ſi totum ſibi vindicaverit in foro certamen, obſtabit melioribus, et ſectas ad tenuitatem vires ipſâ ſubtilitate conſumet. Itaque reperias quoſdam in diſputando mirè callidos; cum ab illâ verò cavillatione diſceſſerint, non magis ſufficere in aliquo graviori actu, quam parva quædam animalia, quæ in anguſtiis mobilia, campo deprehenduntur.* Quint. lib. xii. cap. 2.

Ethics, or moral philoſophy, the ſame great critic holds to be indiſpenſably requiſite. *Jam quidem pars illa moralis, quæ dicitur Ethice, certè tota oratori eſt accommodata. Nam in tantâ cauſarum varietate, nulla ferè dici poteſt, cujus non parte aliquâ tractatus æqui et boni reperiantur.* Lib. xii. Unleſs the mind be enriched with a ſtore of knowledge, there may be loquacity, but nothing that deſerves the name of oratory. Eloquence, ſays Lord Bolingbroke, muſt flow like a ſtream that is fed by an abundant ſpring, and not

ſpout

ſpout forth a little frothy ſtream, on ſome gaudy day, and remain dry for the reſt of the year. See *Spirit of Patriotiſm.*

With regard to natural philoſophy, Quintilian has a ſentiment ſo truly ſublime, that to omit it in this place would look like inſenſibility. If, ſays he, the univerſe is conducted by a ſuperintending Providence, it follows that good men ſhould govern the nations of the earth. And if the ſoul of man is of cœleſtial origin, it is evident that we ſhould tread in the paths of virtue, all aſpiring to our native ſource, not ſlaves to paſſion, and the pleaſures of the world. Theſe are important topics; they often occur to the public orator, and demand all his eloquence. *Nam ſi regitur providentiâ mundus, adminiſtranda certè bonis viris erit, reſpublica. Si divina noſtris animis origo, tandendum ad virtutem, nec voluptatibus terreni corporis ſerviendum. An hoc non frequenter tractabit orator?* Quint. lib. xii. cap. 2.

Section XXXI.

(*a*) Quintilian, as well as Seneca, has left a collection of ſchool-declamations, but he has given his opinion of all ſuch performances. They are mere imitation, and, by conſequence, have not the force and ſpirit, which a real cauſe inſpires. In public harangues, the ſubject is founded in reality; in declamations, all is fiction. *Omnis imitatio ficta eſt; quo fit ut minus ſanguinis ac virium declamationes habeant, quam orationes; quod in his vera, in illis aſſimulata materia eſt.* Lib. x. cap. 2. Petronius has given a lively deſcription of the rhetoricians of his time. The conſequence, he ſays, of their turgid ſtyle, and the pompous ſwell of ſounding periods, has ever been the

ſame:

ſame: when their ſcholars enter the forum, they look as if they were tranſported into a new world. The teachers of rhetoric have been the bane of all true eloquence. *Hæc ipſa tolerabilia eſſent, ſi ad eloquentiam ituris viam facerent: nunc et rerum tumore, et ſententiarum vaniſſimo ſtrepitu, hoc tantum proficiunt, ut quum in forum venerint, putent ſe in alium terrarum orbem delatos. Pace veſtrâ liceat dixiſſe, primi omnium eloquentiam perdidiſtis.* Petron. *in Satyrico*, cap. 1 and 2. That gay writer, who paſſed his days in luxury and voluptuous pleaſures (ſee his character, *Annals*, b. xvi. ſ. 18), was, amidſt all his diſſipation, a man of learning, and, at intervals, of deep reflection. He knew the value of true philoſophy, and, therefore, directs the young orator to the Socratic ſchool, and to that plan of education which we have before us in the preſent Dialogue. He bids his ſcholar begin with Homer, and there drink deep of the Pierian ſpring: after that, he recommends the moral ſyſtem, and, when his mind is thus enlarged, he allows him to wield the arms of Demoſthenes.

> ——————Det primos verſibus annos,
> Mæoniumque bibat felici pectore fontem;
> Mox et Socratico plenus grege mutet habenas
> Liber, et ingentis quatiat Demoſthenis arma.

(*b*) Cicero has left a book, entitled TOPICA, in which he treats at large of the method of finding proper arguments. This, he obſerves, was executed by Ariſtotle, whom he pronounces the great maſter both of invention and judgment. *Cum omnis ratio diligens differendi duas habeat partes; unam* INVENIENDI, *alteram* JUDICANDI; *utriuſque princeps, ut mihi quidem videtur Ariſtoteles fuit.* Ciceronis *Topica*, ſ. vi. The ſources, from which arguments may be drawn, are called

LOCI

LOCI COMMUNES, COMMON PLACES. To ſupply the orator with ample materials, and to render him copious on every ſubject, was the deſign of the Greek preceptor, and for that purpoſe he gave his TOPICA. *Ariſtoteles adoleſcentes, non ad philoſophorum morem tenuiter differendi, ſed ad copiam rhetorum in utramque partem, ut ornatius et uberius dici poſſet, exercuit; idemque locos (ſic enim appellat) quaſi argumentorum notas tradidit, unde omnis in utramque partem traheretur oratio.* Cicero, *De Oratore.* Ariſtotle was the moſt eminent of Plato's ſcholars; he retired to a *gymnaſium*, or place of exerciſe, in the neighbourhood of Athens, called the *Lyceum*, where, from a cuſtom, which he and his followers obſerved, of diſcuſſing points of philoſophy, as they walked in the *porticos* of the place, they obtained the name of *Peripatetics*, or the walking philoſophers. See Middleton's *Life of Cicero*, vol. ii. p. 537, 4to edit.

(*c*) The academic ſect derived its origin from Socrates, and its name from a celebrated *gymnaſium*, or place of exerciſe, in the ſuburbs of Athens, called the *Academy*, after *Ecademus*, who poſſeſſed it in the time of the *Tyndaridæ*. It was afterwards purchaſed, and dedicated to the public, for the convenience of walks and exerciſes for the citizens of Athens. It was gradually improved with plantations, groves and porticos for the particular uſe of the profeſſors or maſters of the academic ſchool; where ſeveral of them are ſaid to have ſpent their lives, and to have reſided ſo ſtrictly, as ſcarce ever to have come within the city. See Middleton's *Life of Cicero*, 4to edit. vol. ii. p. 536. Plato, and his followers, continued to reſide in the porticos of the academy. They choſe

———————The green retreats
Of Academus, and the thymy vale,
Where oft inchanted with Socratic ſounds,
Ilyſſus pure devolv'd his tuneful ſtream
In gentle murmurs.

AKENSIDE, PLEAS. OF IMAG.

For dexterity in argument, the orator is referred to this ſchool, for the reaſon given by Quintilian, who ſays that the cuſtom of ſupporting an argument on either ſide of the queſtion, approaches neareſt to the orator's practice in forenſic cauſes. *Academiam quidam utiliſſimam credunt, quod mos in utramque partem differendi ad exercitationem forenſium cauſarum proximè accedat.* Lib. xii. cap. 2. Quintilian aſſures us that we are indebted to the academic philoſophy for the ableſt orators, and it is to that ſchool that Horace ſends his poet for inſtruction:

Rem tibi Socraticæ poterunt oſtendere chartæ,
Verbaque proviſam rem non invita ſequentur.

ARS POET. ver. 310.

Good ſenſe, that fountain of the muſe's art,
Let the rich page of Socrates impart;
And if the mind with clear conception glow,
The willing words in juſt expreſſions flow.

FRANCIS's HORACE.

(*d*) Epicurus made frequent uſe of the rhetorical figure, called exclamation; and in his Life, by Diogenes Laertius, we find a variety of inſtances. It is for that manner of giving animation to a diſcourſe that Epicurus is mentioned in the Dialogue. For the reſt, Quintilian tells us what to think of him. Epicurus, he ſays, diſmiſſes the orator from his ſchool, ſince he adviſes his pupil to pay no regard to ſcience or to method.

Epicurus

Epicurus imprimis nos a ſe ipſe dimittit, qui fugere omnem diſciplinam navigatione quam velociſſima jubet. Lib. xii. cap. 2. Metrodorus was the favourite diſciple of Epicurus. Brotier ſays that a ſtatue of the maſter and the ſcholar, with their heads joined together, was found at Rome in the year 1743.

It is worthy of notice, that, except the ſtoics, who, without aiming at elegance of language, argued cloſely and with vigour, Quintilian proſcribes the remaining ſects of philoſophers. Ariſtippus, he ſays, placed his *ſummum bonum* in bodily pleaſure, and therefore, could be no friend to the ſtrict regimen of the accompliſhed orator. Much leſs could Pyrrho be of uſe, ſince he doubted whether there was any ſuch thing in exiſtence as the judges, before whom the cauſe muſt be pleaded. To him the party accuſed, and the ſenate, were alike non-entities. *Neque vero Ariſtippus, ſummum in voluptate corporis bonum ponens, ad hunc nos laborem adhortetur. Pyrrho quidem, quas in hoc opere partes habere poteſt? cui judices eſſe apud quos verba faciat, et reum pro quo loquatur, et ſenatum, in quo ſit dicenda ſententia, non liquebat.* Quintil. lib. xii. cap. 2.

Section XXXII.

(*a*) We are told by Quintilian, that Demoſthenes, the great orator of Greece, was an aſſiduous hearer of Plato: *Conſtat Demoſthenem, principem omnium Græciæ oratorum dediſſe operam Platoni.* Lib. xii. cap. 2. And Cicero expreſsly ſays, that, if he might venture to call himſelf an orator, he was made ſo, not by the manufacture of the ſchools of rhetoric, but in the walks of the Academy. *Fateor me oratorem, ſi modo ſim, aut*

aut etiam quicumque ſim, non ex rhetorum officinis, ſed ex Academiæ ſpatiis extitiſſe. Ad Brutum Orator, ſ. xii.

Section XXXIII.

(*a*) The ancient critics made a wide diſtinction between a mere facility of ſpeech, and what they called the oratorical faculty. This is fully explained by Aſinius Pollio, who ſaid of himſelf, that, by pleading at firſt with propriety, he ſucceeded ſo far as to be often called upon; by pleading frequently, he began to loſe the propriety with which he ſet out; and the reaſon was, by conſtant practice he acquired raſhneſs, not a juſt confidence in himſelf; a fluent facility, not the true faculty of an orator. *Commodè agendo factum eſt, ut ſæpè agerem; ſæpè agendo, ut minus commodè; quia ſcilicet nimia facilitas magis quam facultas, nec fiducia, ſed temeritas, paratur.* Quintilian, lib. xii.

Section XXXIV.

(*a*) There is in this place a trifling miſtake, either in Meſſala, the ſpeaker, or in the copyiſts. Craſſus was born A. U. C. 614. See ſ. xviii. note (*f*). Papirius Carbo, the perſon accuſed, was conſul A. U. C. 634, and the proſecution was in the following year, when Craſſus expreſsly ſays, that he was then one-and-twenty. *Quippe qui omnium maturimè ad publicas cauſas acceſſerim, annoſque natus* UNUM ET VIGINTI, *nobiliſſimum hominem et eloquentiſſimum in judicium vocârim.* Cicero, *De Orat.* lib. iii. ſ. 74. Pliny the conſul was another inſtance of early pleading. He ſays himſelf, that he began his career in the forum at the

the age of nineteen, and, after long practice, he could only see the functions of an orator as it were in a mist. *Undevicessimo ætatis anno dicere in foro cœpi, et nunc demum, quid præstare debeat orator, adhuc tamen per caliginem video.* Lib. v. epist. 8. Quintilian relates of Cæsar, Calvus, and Pollio, that they all three appeared at the bar, long before they arrived at their quæstorian age, which was seven-and-twenty. *Calvus, Cæsar, Pollio multum ante quæstoriam omnes ætatem gravissima judicia susceperunt.* Quint. lib. xii. cap. 6.

Section XXXV.

(*a*) Lipsius, in his note on this passage, says, that he once thought the word *scena* in the text ought to be changed to *schola*; but he afterwards saw his mistake. The place of fictitious declamation and spurious eloquence, where the teachers played a ridiculous part, was properly called a theatrical scene.

(*b*) Lucius Licinius Crassus and Domitius Ænobarbus were censors A. U. C. 662. Crassus himself informs us, that, for two years together, a new race of men, called rhetoricians, or masters of eloquence, kept open schools at Rome, till he thought fit to exercise his censorian authority, and by an edict to banish the whole tribe from the city of Rome; and this, he says, he did, not, as some people suggested, to hinder the talents of youth from being cultivated, but to save their genius from being corrupted, and the young mind from being confirmed in shameless ignorance. Audacity was all the new masters could teach; and this being the only thing to be acquired on that stage of impudence, he thought it the duty of a Roman

Roman cenſor to cruſh the miſchief in the bud. *Latini (ſi diis placet) hoc biennio magiſtri dicendi extiterunt; quos ego cenſor edicto meo ſuſtuleram; non quo (ut neſcio quos dicere aiebant) acui ingenia adoleſcentium nollem, ſed, contra, ingenia obtundi nolui, corroborari impudentiam. Hos vero novos magiſtros nihil intelligebam poſſe docere, niſi ut auderent. Hoc cum unum traderetur, et cum impudentiæ ludus eſſet, putavi eſſe cenſoris, ne longius id ſerperet, providere. De Orat.* lib. iii. f. 93 and 94. Aulus Gellius mentions a former expulſion of the rhetoricians, by a decree of the ſenate, in the conſulſhip of Fannius Strabo and Valerius Meſſala, A. U. C. 593. He gives the words of the decree, and alſo of the edict, by which the teachers were baniſhed by Craſſus, ſeveral years after. See *A. Gellius, Noctes Atticæ*, lib. xv. cap. 2. See alſo Suetonius, *De Claris Rhet.* f. i.

(*c*) Seneca has left a collection of declamations in the two kinds, viz. the perſuaſive, and controverſial. See his SUASORIÆ, and CONTROVERSIÆ. In the firſt claſs, the queſtions are, Whether Alexander ſhould attempt the Indian ocean? Whether he ſhould enter Babylon, when the augurs denounced impending danger? Whether Cicero, to appeaſe the wrath of Marc Antony, ſhould burn all his works? The ſubjects in the ſecond claſs are more complex. A prieſteſs was taken priſoner by a band of pirates, and ſold to ſlavery. The purchaſer abandoned her to proſtitution. Her perſon being rendered venal, a ſoldier made his offers of gallantry. She deſired the price of her proſtituted charms; but the military man reſolved to uſe force and inſolence, and ſhe ſtabbed him in the attempt. For this ſhe was proſecuted, and acquitted. She then deſired to be reſtored to her rank of prieſteſs: that point was decided againſt her. Theſe inſtances may ſerve

ſerve as a ſpecimen of the trifling declamations, into which ſuch a man as Seneca was betrayed by his own imagination. Petronius has deſcribed the literary farce of the ſchools. Young men, he ſays, were there trained up in folly, neither ſeeing nor hearing any thing that could be of uſe in the buſineſs of life. They were taught to think of nothing but pirates loaded with fetters on the ſea-ſhore; tyrants by their edicts commanding ſons to murder their fathers; the reſponſes of oracles demanding a ſacrifice of three, or more virgins, in order to abate an epidemic peſtilence. All theſe diſcourſes, void of common ſenſe, are tricked out in the gaudy colours of exquiſite eloquence, ſoft, ſweet, and ſeaſoned to the palate. In this ridiculous boys-play the ſcholars trifle away their time; they are laughed at in the forum, and, ſtill worſe, what they learn in their youth they do not forget at an advanced age. *Ego adoleſcentulos exiſtimo in ſcholis ſtultiſſimos fieri, quia nihil ex iis, quæ in uſu habemus, aut audiunt aut vident; ſed piratas cum catenis in littore ſtantes, et tyrannos edicta ſcribentes, quibus imperent filiis, ut patrum ſuorum capita præcidant; ſed reſponſa in peſtilentiâ data, ut virgines tres aut plures immolentur, ſed mellitos verborum globos, et omnia dicta factaque quaſi papavere et ſeſamo ſparſa. Nunc pueri in ſcholis ludunt; juvenes ridentur in foro; et, quod utroque turpius eſt, quod quiſque perperam diſcit, in ſenectute confiteri non vult.* Petron. *in Satyrico*, cap. 3 and 4.

(*d*) Here unfortunately begins a chaſm in the original. The words are, *Cum ad veros judices ventum eſt, * * * rem cogitare * * * nihil humile, nihil abjectum eloqui poterat.* This is unintelligible. What follows from the words, *mag-*

na eloquentia ſicut flamma, palpably belongs to Maternus, who is the laſt ſpeaker in the Dialogue. The whole of what Secundus ſaid is loſt. The expedient has been to divide the ſequel between Secundus and Maternus; but that is mere patch-work. We are told, in the firſt ſection of the Dialogue, that the ſeveral perſons preſent ſpoke their minds, each in his turn aſſigning different, but probable cauſes, and at times agreeing on the ſame. There can, therefore, be no doubt but Secundus took his turn in the courſe of the enquiry. Of all the editors of Tacitus, Brotier is the only one, who has adverted to this circumſtance. To ſupply the loſs, as well as it can now be done by conjecture, that ingenious commentator has added a Supplement, with ſo much taſte, and ſuch a degree of probability, that it has been judged proper to adopt what he has added. The thread of the diſcourſe will be unbroken, and the reader, it is hoped, will prefer a regular continuity to a mere vacant ſpace. The inverted commas in the margin of the text will mark the ſupplemental part, as far as ſection xxxvi. where the Original proceeds to the end of the Dialogue. The ſections of the Supplement will be marked, for the ſake of diſtinction, with figures, inſtead of the Roman numeral letters.

SUPPLEMENT.

SUPPLEMENT.

Section 1.

(*a*) PETRONIUS says, You may as well expect, that the person, who is for ever shut up in a kitchen, should be sweet and fresh, as that young men, trained up in such absurd and ridiculous interludes, should improve their taste or judgment. *Qui inter hæc nutriuntur, non magis sapere possunt, quam benè olere, qui in culinâ habitant.* Petronius, *in Satyrico*, s. ii.

Section 2.

(*a*) The means, by which an orator is nourished, formed, and raised to eminence, are here enumerated. These are the requisites, that lead to that distinguished eloquence, which is finely described by Petronius, when he says, a sublime oration, but sublime within due bounds, is neither deformed with affectation, nor turgid in any part, but, depending on truth and simplicity, rises to unaffected grandeur. *Grandis, et, ut ita dicam, pudica oratio, non est maculosa, nec turgida, sed naturali pulchritudine exsurgit.* Petronius, *in Satyrico*, s. 2.

Section 3.

(*a*) Maternus engaged, for himself and Secundus, that they would communicate their senti-

ments: see s. xvi. In consequence of that promise, Messala now calls upon them both. They have already declared themselves admirers of ancient eloquence. It now remains to be known, whether they agree with Messala as to the cause, that occasioned a rapid decline; or, whether they can produce new reasons of their own.

Section 4.

(a) Secundus proceeds to give his opinion. This is managed by Brotier with great art and judgment, since it is evident in the original text that Maternus closed the debate. According to what is said in the introduction to the Dialogue, Secundus agrees with Messala upon most points, but still assigns different, but probable, reasons. A revolution, he says, happened in literature; a new taste prevailed, and the worst models were deemed worthy of imitation. The emotions of the heart were suppressed. Men could no longer yield to the impulse of genius. They endeavoured to embellish their composition with novelty; they sparkled with wit, and amused their readers with point, antithesis, and forced conceits. They fell into the case of the man, who, according to Martial, was ingenious, but not eloquent:

> Cum sexaginta numeret Cassilius annos;
> Ingeniosus homo est: quando disertus erit?
> Lib. vii. epig. 8.

(b) Enough, perhaps, has been already said in the notes concerning the teachers of rhetoric; but it will not be useless to cite one passage more from Petronius, who in literature, as well as convivial pleasure, may be allowed to be *arbiter elegantiarum*.

gantiarum. The rhetoricians, he ſays, came originally from Aſia; they were, however, neither known to Pindar, and the nine lyric poets, nor to Plato, or Demoſthenes. They arrived at Athens in evil hour, and imported with them that enormous frothy loquacity, which at once, like a peſtilence, blaſted all the powers of genius, and eſtabliſhed the rules of corrupt eloquence. *Nondum umbraticus doctor ingenia deleverat, cum Pindarus novemque lyrici Homericis verſibus canere non timuerunt. Certe neque Platona, neque Demoſthenem ad hoc genus exercitationis acceſſiſſe video. Nuper ventoſa iſthæc et enormis loquacitas Athenas ex Aſia commigravit, animoſque juvenum ad magna ſurgentes veluti peſtilenti quodam ſidere afflavit; ſimulque corruptæ eloquentiæ regula ſtetit et obtinuit.* Petron. *Satyricon*, ſ. 2.

Section 5.

(*a*) When the public taſte was vitiated, and to *elevate and ſurpriſe*, as Bayes ſays, was the *new way of writing*, Seneca is, with good reaſon, ranked in the claſs of ingenious, but affected authors. Menage ſays, if all the books in the world were in the fire, there is not one, whom he would ſo eagerly ſnatch from the flames as Plutarch. That author never tires him; he reads him often, and always finds new beauties. He cannot ſay the ſame of Seneca; not but there are admirable paſſages in his works, but when brought to the teſt, they loſe their apparent beauty by a cloſe examination. Seneca ſerves to be quoted in the warmth of converſation, but is not of equal value in the cloſet. Whatever be the ſubject, he wiſhes to ſhine, and, by conſequence, his thoughts are too refined, and often *falſe*. *Menagiana*, tom. ii. p. 1.

Section

Section 6.

(*a*) This charge againſt Seneca is by no means new. Quintilian was his contemporary; he ſaw, and heard the man, and, in leſs than twenty years after his death, pronounced judgment againſt him. In the concluſion of the firſt chapter of his tenth book, after having given an account of the Greek and Roman authors, he ſays, he reſerved Seneca for the laſt place, becauſe, having always endeavoured to counteract the influence of a bad taſte, he was ſuppoſed to be influenced by motives of perſonal enmity. But the caſe was otherwiſe. He ſaw that Seneca was the favourite of the times, and, to check the torrent that threatened the ruin of all true eloquence, he exerted his beſt efforts to diffuſe a ſounder judgment. He did not wiſh that Seneca ſhould be laid aſide; but he could not, in ſilence, ſee him preferred to the writers of the Auguſtan age, whom that writer endeavoured to depreciate, conſcious, that, having choſen a different ſtyle, he could not hope to pleaſe the taſte of thoſe, who were charmed with the authors of a former day. But Seneca was ſtill in faſhion; his partiſans continued to admire, though it cannot be ſaid that they imitated him. He fell ſhort of the ancients, and they were ſtill more beneath their model. Since they were content to copy, it were to be wiſhed that they had been able to vie with him. He pleaſed by his defects, and the herd of imitators choſe the worſt. They acquired a vicious manner, and flattered themſelves that they reſembled their maſter. But the truth is, they diſgraced him. Seneca, it muſt be allowed, had many great and excellent qualities; a lively imagination;

gination; vaſt erudition, and extenſive knowledge. He frequently employed others to make reſearches for him, and was often deceived. He embraced all ſubjects; in his philoſophy, not always profound, but a keen cenſor of the manners, and on moral ſubjects truly admirable. He has brilliant paſſages, and beautiful ſentiments; but the expreſſion is in a falſe taſte, the more dangerous, as he abounds with delightful vices. You would have wiſhed, that he had written with his own imagination, and the judgment of others. To ſum up his character: had he known how to rate little things; had he been above the petty ambition of always ſhining; had he not been fond of himſelf; had he not weakened his force by minute and dazzling ſentences, he would have gained, not the admiration of boys, but the ſuffrage of the judicious. At preſent, he may be read with ſafety by thoſe, who have made acquaintance with better models. His works afford the faireſt opportunity of diſtinguiſhing the beauties of fine writing from their oppoſite vices. He has much to be approved, and even admired: but a juſt ſelection is neceſſary, and it is to be regretted that he did not chooſe for himſelf. Such was the judgment of Quintilian: the learned reader will, perhaps, be glad to have the whole paſſage in the author's words, rather than be referred to another book. *Ex induſtriâ Senecam, in omni genere eloquentiæ verſatum, diſtuli, propter vulgatam falſo de me opinionem, quâ damnare eum, et inviſum quoque habere ſum creditus. Quod accidit mihi, dum corruptum, et omnibus vitiis fractum dicendi genus revocare ad ſeveriora judicia contendo. Tum autem ſolus hic fere in manibus adoleſcentium fuit. Quem non equidem omnino conabar excutere, ſed potioribus præferri non ſinebam, quos ille non*

non deſtiterat inceſſere, cum, diverſi ſibi conſcius generis, placere ſe in dicendo poſſe iis quibus illi placerent, diffideret. Amabant autem eum magis, quàm imitabantur; tantumque ab illo defluebant, quantum ille ab antiquis deſcenderat. Foret enim optandum, pares, aut ſaltem proximos, illi viro fieri. Sed placebat propter ſola vitia, et ad ea ſe quiſque dirigebat effingenda, quæ poterat. Deinde cum ſe jactaret eodem modo dicere, Senecam infamabat. Cujus et multæ alioqui et magnæ virtutes fuerunt; ingenium facile et copioſum; plurimum ſtudii; et multarum rerum cognitio, in quâ tamen aliquando ab iis, quibus inquirenda quædam mandabat, deceptus eſt. Tractavit etiam omnem ferè ſtudiorum materiam; in philoſophiâ parum diligens, egregius tamen vitiorum inſectator. Multæ in eo claræque ſententiæ; multa etiam morum gratiâ legenda; ſed in eloquendo corrupta pleraque, atque eo perniciosiſſima, quod abundat dulcibus vitus. Velles eum ſuo ingenio dixiſſe, alieno judicio. Nam ſi aliqua contempſiſſet; ſi parum concupiſſet, ſi non omnia ſua amaſſet; ſi rerum pondera minutiſſimis ſententiis non fregiſſet, conſenſu potius eruditorum, quàm puerorum amore comprobaretur. Verùm ſic quoque jam robuſtis, et ſeveriore genere ſatis firmatis, legendus, vel ideo, quod exercere poteſt utrimque judicium. Multa enim (ut dixi) probanda in eo, multa etiam admiranda ſunt; eligere modo curæ ſit, quod utinam ipſe feciſſet. Quintil. lib. x. cap. 1. From this it is evident, that Seneca, even in the meridian of his fame and power, was conſidered as the grand corruptor of eloquence. The charge is, therefore, renewed in this Dialogue, with ſtrict propriety. Rollin, who had nouriſhed his mind with ancient literature, and was, in his time, the Quintilian of France, has given the ſame opinion of Seneca, who, he ſays, knew how to play the critic on the works of others, and to condemn

condemn the ſtrained metaphor, the forced conceit, the tinſel ſentence, and all the blemiſhes of a corrupt ſtyle, without deſiring to weed them out of his own productions. In a letter to his friend (epiſt. 114, which has been mentioned ſection xxvi. note (*a*), Seneca admits a general depravity of taſte, and with great acuteneſs, and, indeed, elegance, traces it to its ſource, to the luxury and effeminate manners of the age; he compares the florid orators of his time to a ſet of young fops, well powdered and perfumed, juſt iſſuing from their toilette: *Barbâ et comâ nitidos, de capſulâ totos*; he adds, that ſuch affected finery is not the true ornament of a man. *Non eſt ornamentum virile, concinnitas.* And yet, ſays Rollin, he did not know that he was ſitting to himſelf for the picture. He aimed for ever at ſomething new, far fetched, ingenious, and pointed. He preferred wit to truth and dignified ſimplicity. The marvellous was with him better than the natural; and he choſe to ſurpriſe and dazzle, rather than merit the approbation of ſober judgment. His talents placed him at the head of the faſhion, and with thoſe enchanting vices, which Quintilian aſcribes to him, he was, no doubt, the perſon, who contributed moſt to the corruption of taſte and eloquence. See Rollin's *Belles Lettres*, vol. i. *ſur le Gout*. Another eminent critic, L'Abbe Gedoyn, who has given an elegant tranſlation of Quintilian, has, in the preface to that work, entered fully into the queſtion concerning the decline of eloquence. He admits that Seneca did great miſchief, but he takes the matter up much higher. He traces it to Ovid, and imputes the taſte for wit and ſpurious ornament, which prevailed under the emperors, to the falſe, but ſeducing charms of that celebrated poet.

poet. Ovid was, undoubtedly, the greateſt wit of his time; but his wit knew no bounds. His fault was exuberance. *Neſcivit quod bene ceſſit relinquere*, ſays Seneca, who had himſelf the ſame defect. Whatever is Ovid's ſubject, the redundance of a copious fancy ſtill appears. Does he bewail his own misfortunes? he ſeems to think, that, unleſs he is witty, he cannot be an object of compaſſion. Does he write letters to and from diſappointed lovers? the greateſt part flows from fancy, and little from the heart. He gives us the brilliant for the pathetic. With theſe faults, Ovid had ſuch enchanting graces, that his ſtyle and manner infected every branch of literature. The tribe of imitators had not the genius of their maſter; but, being determined to ſhine in ſpite of nature, they ruined all true taſte and eloquence. This is the natural progreſs of imitation, and Seneca was well aware of it. He tells us that the faults and blemiſhes of a corrupt ſtyle are ever introduced by ſome ſuperior genius, who has riſen to eminence in bad writing: his admirers imitate a vicious manner, and thus a falſe taſte goes round from one to another. *Hæc vitia unus aliquis inducit, ſub quo tunc eloquentia eſt: cæteri imitantur*; *et alter alteri tradunt*. Epiſt. 114. Seneca, however, did not know that he was deſcribing himſelf. Tacitus ſays, he had a genius ſuited to the taſte of the age. *Ingenium amœnum et temporis ejus auribus accommodatum*. He adopted the faults of Ovid, and was able to propagate them. For theſe reaſons, the Abbé Gedoyn is of opinion, that Ovid began the miſchief, and Seneca laid the axe to the root of the tree. It is certain, that, during the remaining period of the empire, true eloquence never revived.

Section

Section 7.

(*a*) Hiſtorians have concurred in taxing Veſpaſian with avarice, in ſome inſtances, mean and ſordid; but they agree, at the ſame time, that the uſe, which he made of his accumulated riches, by encouraging the arts, and extending liberal rewards to men of genius, is a ſufficient apology for his love of money.

(*b*) Titus, it is needleſs to ſay, was the friend of virtue and of every liberal art. Even that monſter Domitian was verſed in polite learning, and by fits and ſtarts capable of intenſe application: but we read in Tacitus, that his ſtudies and his pretended love of poetry ſerved as a cloak to hide his real character. See *Hiſtory*, b. iv. ſ. 86.

(*c*) Pliny the younger deſcribes the young men of his time ruſhing forward into the forum without knowledge or decency. He was told, he ſays, by perſons advanced in years, that, according to ancient uſage, no young man, even of the firſt diſtinction, was allowed to appear at the bar, unleſs he was introduced by one of conſular dignity. But, in his time, all fences of reſpect and decency were thrown down. Young men ſcorned to be introduced; they forced their way, and took poſſeſſion of the forum without any kind of recommendation. *At hercule ante memoriam meam (majores natu ita ſolent dicere), ne nobiliſſimis quidem adoleſcentibus locus erat, niſi aliquo conſulari producente; tantâ veneratione pulcherrimum opus celebrabatur. Nunc refractis pudoris et reverentiæ clauſtris, omnia patent omnibus. Nec inducuntur, ſed irrumpunt.* Plin. lib. ii. epiſt. 14.

Section

Section 8.

(*a*) This want of decorum before the tribunals of juſtice would appear incredible, were it not well atteſted by the younger Pliny. The audience, he ſays, was ſuited to the orators. Mercenary wretches were hired to applaud in the courts, where they were treated at the expence of the advocate, as openly as if they were in a banqueting-room. *Sequuntur auditores actoribus ſimiles, conducti et redempti mancipes. Convenitur in mediâ baſilicâ, ubi tam palam ſportulæ quam in triclinio dantur.* Plin. lib. ii. epiſt. 14. He adds in the ſame epiſtle, LARGIUS LICINIUS firſt introduced this cuſtom, merely that he might procure an audience. *Primus hunc audiendi morem induxit Largius Licinius, hactenus tamen ut auditores corrogaret.*

(*b*) This anecdote is alſo related by Pliny, in the following manner: Quintilian, his preceptor, told him that one day, when he attended Domitius Afer in a cauſe before the *centumviri*, a ſudden and outrageous noiſe was heard from the adjoining court. Afer made a pauſe; the diſturbance ceaſed, and he reſumed the thread of his diſcourſe. He was interrupted a ſecond and a third time. He aſked, who was the advocate that occaſioned ſo much uproar? Being told, that Licinius was the perſon, he addreſſed himſelf to the court in theſe words: *Centumvirs! all true eloquence is now at an end. Ex Quintiliano, præceptore meo, audiſſe memini: narrabat ille, Aſſectabar Domitium Afrum, cum apud centumviros diceret graviter et lentè (hoc enim illi actionis genus erat), audiit ex proximo immodicum inſolitumque clamorem; admiratus reticuit; ubi ſilentium factum eſt, repetit quod abruperat; iterum clamor, iterum reticuit;*

ticuit; *et poſt ſilentium, cœpit idem tertio. Noviſſimè quis diceret? quæſivit. Reſponſum eſt Licinius. Tum intermiſſâ cauſâ,* CENTUMVIRI, *inquit,* HOC ARTIFICIUM PERIIT. Lib. ii. cp. 14. Domitius Afer has been mentioned, ſ. xiii. note (*d*). To what is there ſaid of him may be added a fact related by Quintilian, who ſays that Afer, when old and ſuperannuated, ſtill continued at the bar, exhibiting the decay of genius, and every day diminiſhing that high reputation, which he once poſſeſſed. Hence men ſaid of him, he had rather *decline* than *deſiſt*: *Malle eum deficere, quam deſinere.* Quint. lib. xii. cap. 11.

(*c*) The men, who applauded for hire, went from court to court to bellow forth their venal approbation. Pliny ſays, No longer ago than yeſterday, two of my *nomenclators*, both about the age of ſeventeen, were bribed to play the part of critics. Their pay was about three *denarii*: that at preſent is the price of eloquence. *Ex judicio in judicium pari mercede tranſitur. Heri duo nomenclatores mei (habent ſane ætatem eorum, qui nuper togas ſumpſerunt) ternis denariis ad laudandum trahebantur. Tanti conſtat, ut ſis diſertus.* Lib. ii. epiſt. 14.

(*d*) The whole account of the trade of puffing is related, in the Dialogue, on the authority of Pliny, who tells us that thoſe wretched ſycophants had two nick-names; one in Greek, Σοφοκλεῖς, and the other in Latin, LAUDICÆNI: the former from *ſophos*, the uſual exclamation of applauſe, as in Martial: *Quid tam grande ſophos clamat tibi turba togata*; the Latin word importing *paraſites*, who ſold their praiſe for a ſupper. *Inde jam non inurbanè* Σοφοκλεῖς *vocantur*; *iiſdem nomen Latinum impoſitum eſt,* LAUDICÆNI. *Et tamen creſcit indies fœditas utrâque linguâ notata.* Lib. ii. epiſt. 14.

Section

Section 10.

(*a*) Pliny tells us, that he employed much of his time in pleading cauſes before the *centumviri*; but he grew aſhamed of the buſineſs, when he found thoſe courts attended by a ſet of bold young men, and not by lawyers of any note or conſequence. But ſtill the ſervice of his friends, and his time of life, induced him to continue his practice for ſome while longer, leſt he ſhould ſeem, by quitting it abruptly, to fly from fatigue, not from the indecorum of the place. He contrived however, to appear but ſeldom, in order to withdraw himſelf by degrees. *Nos tamen adhuc ut utilitas amicorum, et ratio ætatis, moratur ac retinet. Veremur enim ne fortè non has indignitates reliquiſſe, ſed laborem fugiſſe videamur. Sumus tamen ſolito rariores, quod initium eſt gradatim deſinendi.* Lib. ii. epiſt. 14.

Section 11.

(*a*) The perſon here diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the rhetoricians, is the celebrated Quintilian, of whoſe elegant taſte and ſuperior judgment it were ſuperfluous to ſay a word. Martial has given his character in two lines:

Quintiliane, vagæ moderator ſumme juventæ,
Gloria Romanæ, Quintiliane, togæ.
Lib. ii. epig. 90.

It is generally ſuppoſed that he was a native of *Calaguris* (now *Calahorra*), a city in Spain, rendered famous by the martial ſpirit of Sertorius, who there ſtood a ſiege againſt Pompey. Voſſius, however, thinks that he was born a Roman; and GEDOYN (the elegant tranſlator mentioned ſection 6, note (*a*), accedes to that opinion, ſince Martial

Martial does not claim him as his countryman. The ſame writer ſays, that it is ſtill uncertain when Quintilian was born, and when he died; but, after a diligent enquiry, he thinks it probable that the great critic was born towards the latter end of Tiberius; and, of courſe, when Domitius Afer died in the reign of Nero, A. U. C. 812, A. D. 59, that he was then two-and-twenty. His Inſtitutions of an Orator were written in the latter end of Domitian, when Quintilian, as he himſelf ſays, was far advanced in years. The time of his death is no where mentioned, but it, probably, was under Nerva or Trajan. It muſt not be diſſembled, that this admirable author was not exempt from the epidemic vice of the age in which he lived. He flattered Domitian, and that ſtrain of adulation is the only blemiſh in his work. The love of literature may be ſaid to have been his ruling paſſion; but, in his eſtimation, learning and genius are ſubordinate to honour, truth, and virtue.

Section 12.

(*a*) Maternus, without contradicting Meſſala or Secundus, gives his opinion, viz. that the decline of eloquence, however other cauſes might conſpire, was chiefly occaſioned by the ruin of a free conſtitution. To this he adds another obſervation, which ſeems to be founded in truth, as we find that, ſince the revival of letters, Spain has produced one CERVANTES; France, one MOLIERE; England, one SHAKESPEARE, and one MILTON.

Section 13.

(*a*) Examples of ſhort, abrupt, and even ſublime ſpeeches out of the mouth of Barbarians, might,

might, if the occaſion required it, be produced in great abundance. Mr. Locke has obſerved, that the humours of a people may be learned from their uſage of words. Seneca has ſaid the ſame, and, in epiſtle cxiv. has explained himſelf on the ſubject with acute reaſoning and beautiful illuſtration. The whole letter merits the attention of the judicious critic. The remainder of this, and the whole of the following ſection, ſerve to enforce the propoſition of the ſpeaker, viz. that Roman eloquence died with public liberty. The Supplement ends here. The original text is reſumed in the next ſection, and proceeds unbroken to the end of the Dialogue.

Section XXXVI.

(*a*) When great and powerful eloquence is compared to a flame, that muſt be ſupported by freſh materials, it is evident that the ſentence is a continuation, not the opening of a new argument. It has been obſerved, and it will not be improper to repeat, that, the two former ſpeakers (Meſſala and Secundus) having ſtated, according to their way of thinking, the cauſes of corrupt eloquence, Maternus, as was promiſed in the outſet of the Dialogue, now proceeds to give another reaſon, and, perhaps, the ſtrongeſt of all; namely, the alteration of the government from the old republican form to the abſolute ſway of a ſingle ruler.

(*b*) The colonies, the provinces, and the nations that ſubmitted to the Roman arms, had their patrons in the capital, whom they courted with aſſiduity. It was this mark of diſtinction that raiſed the ambitious citizen to the firſt honours in the ſtate. To have a number of clients as well at home,

home, as in the moſt important colonies, was the unremitting deſire, the ſtudy, and conſtant labour of all, who aimed at pre-eminence; inſomuch that, in the time of the old republic, the men, who wiſhed to be diſtinguiſhed patrons, impoveriſhed, and often ruined their families, by their profuſion and magnificence. They paid court to the common people, to the provinces, and ſtates in alliance with Rome; and, in their turn, they received the homage of their clients. See *Annals*, b. iii. ſ. 55.

(*c*) We read in Quintilian, that oral teſtimony, and depoſitions ſigned by the witneſſes, were both in uſe in his time. Written evidence, he obſerves, was eaſily combated; becauſe the witneſs, who choſe to ſpeak in the preſence of a few, who ſigned his atteſtation, might be guilty of a violation of truth with greater confidence; and beſides, not being cited to ſpeak, his being a volunteer in the cauſe was a circumſtance againſt him, ſince it ſhewed that he acted with ill-will to the oppoſite party. With regard to the witneſs who gives his teſtimony in open court, the advocate has more upon his hands; he muſt preſs him with queſtions, and in a ſet ſpeech obſerve upon his evidence. He muſt alſo ſupport his own witneſſes, and, therefore, muſt draw up two lines of battle. *Maximus patronis circa teſtimonia ſudor eſt. Ea dicuntur aut per tabulas, aut a præſentibus. Simplicior contra tabulas pugna. Nam et minus obſtitiſſe videtur pudor inter paucos ſignatores, et pro diffidentiâ premitur abſentia. Tacit-præterea quadam ſignificatione refragatur his omniâbus, quod nemo per tabulas dat teſtimonium, niſi ſuâ voluntate; quo ipſo non eſſe amicum ei ſe, contra quem dicit, fatetur. Cum præſentibus verò ingens dimicatio eſt: ideoque velut duplici contra eos, proque his, acie confligitur, actionum et interrogationum.* Quint. lib. v. cap. 7.

Section XXXVII.

(*a*) For an account of Mucianus, see section vii. note (*c*); also *the History*, b. ii. s. 5. Suetonius relates that Vespasian, having undertaken to restore three thousand brazen plates, which had perished in the conflagration of the capitol (see *the Hist. of Tacitus*, b. iii. s. 71.), ordered a diligent search to be made for copies, and thereby furnished the government with a collection of curious and ancient records, containing the decrees of the senate, acts of the commons, and treaties of alliance, almost from the building of the city. Suetonius, *Life of Vespasian*, s. 8. This, with the addition of speeches and letters composed by men of eminence, was, most probably, the collection published by Mucianus. We may be sure that it contained a fund of information, and curious materials for history; but the whole is unfortunately lost.

(*b*) The person intended in this place must not be confounded with Lucius Crassus, the orator celebrated by Cicero in the Dialogue De Oratore. What is here said, relates to Marcus Crassus, who was joined in the triumvirate with Pompey and Cæsar; a man famous for his riches, his avarice, and his misfortunes. While Cæsar was engaged in Gaul, and Pompey in Spain, Crassus invaded Asia, where, in a battle with the Parthians, his whole army was cut to pieces. He himself was in danger of being taken prisoner, but he fell by the sword of the enemy. His head was cut off, and carried to Orodes, the Parthian king, who ordered liquid gold to be infused into his mouth, that he, who thirsted for gold, might be glutted with it after his death. *Caput ejus recisum ad regem reportatum, ludibrio fuit, neque indigno.*

indigno. Aurum enim liquidum in rictum oris infusum est, ut cujus animus arserat auri cupiditate, ejus etiam mortuum et exangue corpus auro uteretur. Florus, lib. iii. cap. 11. Cicero says, that with slender talents, and a small stock of learning, he was able for some years, by his assiduity and interest, to maintain his rank in the list of eminent orators. *Mediocriter à doctrinâ instructus, angustius etiam a naturâ, labore et industriâ, et quod adhibebat ad obtinendas causas curam etiam, et gratiam, in principibus patronis aliquot annos fuit. In hujus oratione sermo Latinus erat, verba non abjecta, res compositæ diligenter; nullus flos tamen, neque lumen ullum: animi magna, vocis parva contentio; omnia ferè ut similiter, atque uno modo dicerentur.* Cicero, *De Claris Oratoribus*, s. 233.

(*c*) Lentulus succeeded more by his action than by real ability. With a quick and animated countenance, he was not a man of penetration; though fluent in speech, he had no command of words. His voice was sweet and melodious; his action graceful; and with those advantages he was able to conceal all other defects. *Cneius autem Lentulus multo majorem opinionem dicendi actione faciebat, quam quanta in eo facultas erat; qui cum esset nec peracutus (quamquam et ex facie et ex vultu videbatur) nec abundans verbis, etsi fallebat in eo ipso; sed voce suavi et canorâ calebat in agendo, ut ea, quæ deerant, non desiderarentur.* Cicero, *De Claris Oratoribus*, s. 234. Metellus, Lucullus, and Curio are mentioned by Cicero in the same work. Curio was a senator of great spirit and popularity. He exerted himself with zeal and ardour for the legal constitution and the liberties of his country against the ambition of Julius Cæsar, but afterwards sold himself to thatartful politician, and favoured his designs. The calamities

that followed are by the beſt hiſtorians laid to his charge. Lucan ſays of him,

> Audax venali comitatur Curio linguâ;
> Vox quondam populi, libertatemque tueri
> Auſus, et armatos plebi miſcere potentes.
> Lib. i. ver. 269.

And again,

> Momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum,
> Gallorum captus ſpoliis, et Cæſaris auro.
> PHARSALIA, lib. iv. ver. 819.

(*d*) Demoſthenes, when not more than ſeven years old, loſt his father, and was left under the care of three guardians, who thought an orphan lawful prey, and did not ſcruple to embezzle his effects. In the mean time Demoſthenes purſued a plan of education, without the aid or advice of his tutors. He became the ſcholar of Iſocrates, and he was the hearer of Plato. Under thoſe maſters his progreſs was ſuch, that at the age of ſeventeen he was able to conduct a ſuit againſt his guardians. The young orator ſucceeded ſo well in that prelude to his future fame, that the plunderers of the orphan's portion were condemned to refund a large ſum. It is ſaid that Demoſthenes, afterwards, releaſed the whole or the greateſt part.

Section XXXVIII.

(*a*) The rule for allowing a limited ſpace of time for the hearing of cauſes, the extent of which could not be known, began, as Pliny the younger informs us, under the emperors, and was fully eſtabliſhed for the reaſons which he gives. The cuſtom, he

he ſays, of allowing two water-glaſſes *(i. e. two hour-glaſſes)* or only one, and ſometimes half a one, prevailed, becauſe the advocates grew tired before the buſineſs was explained, and the judges were ready to decide before they underſtood the queſtion. Pliny, with ſome indignation, aſks, Are we wiſer than our anceſtors? Are the laws more juſt at preſent? Our anceſtors allowed many hours, many days, and many adjournments in every cauſe; and for my part, as often as I ſit in judgment, I allow as much time as the advocate requires; for, would it not be raſhneſs to gueſs what ſpace of time is neceſſary in a cauſe which has not been opened? But ſome unneceſſary things may be ſaid; and is it not better, that what is unneceſſary ſhould be ſpoken, than that what is neceſſary ſhould be omitted? And who can tell what is neceſſary, till he has heard? Patience in a judge ought to be conſidered as one of the chief branches of his duty, as it certainly is of juſtice. See Plin. b. vi. ep. 2. In England, there is no danger of arbitrary rules, to gratify the impatience of the court, or to ſtifle juſtice. The province of juries, ſince the late declaratory act in the caſe of libels, is now better underſtood; and every judge is taught, that a cauſe is tried *before him*, not BY HIM. It is his to expound the law, and wait, with temper, for the verdict of thoſe, whom the conſtitution has entruſted.

(*b*) Pompey's third conſulſhip was A. U. C. 702; before Chriſt, 52. He was at firſt ſole conſul, and in ſix or ſeven months Metellus Scipio became his colleague.

(*c*) The centumviri, as mentioned ſ. vii. note (*c*), were a body of men compoſed of three out of every tribe, for the deciſion of ſuch matters as the prætors referred to their judgment. The nature of the ſeveral cauſes, that came before that

that judicature, may be seen in the first book DE ORATORE.

(*d*) The question in this cause before the centumviri was, whether Clusinius Figulus, the son of Urbinia, fled from his post in battle, and, being taken prisoner, remained in captivity during a length of time, till he made his escape into Italy; or, as was contended by Asinius Pollio, whether the defendant did not serve under two masters, who practised physic, and, being discharged by them, voluntarily sell himself as a slave? See Quintilian, lib. vii. cap. 2.

Section XXXIX.

(*a*) The advocates, at that time, wore a tight cloak, or mantle, like that which the Romans used on a journey. Cicero, in his oration for Milo, argues that he, who wore that inconvenient dress, was not likely to have formed a design against the life of any man. *Apparet uter esset insidiator; uter nihil cogitaret mali: cum alter veheretur in rheda, penulatus, una sederet uxor. Quid horum non impeditissimum? Vestitus? an vehiculum? an comes?* A travelling cloak could give neither grace nor dignity to an orator at the bar. The business was transacted in a kind of chat with the judges: what room for eloquence, and that commanding action, which springs from the emotions of the soul, and inflames every breast with kindred passions? The cold inanimate orator is described, by Quintilian, speaking with his hand under his robe; *manum intra pallium continens.*

Section

Section XL.

(*a*) Maternus is now drawing to a concluſion, and, therefore, calls to mind the propoſition with which he ſet out; viz. that the flame of oratory is kept alive by freſh materials, and always blazes forth in times of danger and public commotion. The unimpaſſioned ſtyle, which ſuited the *areopagus* of Athens, or the courts at Rome, where the advocate ſpoke by an hour-glaſs, does not deſerve the name of genuine eloquence. The orations of Cicero for Marcellus Ligarius, and king Dejotarus, were ſpoken before Cæſar, when he was maſter of the Roman world. In thoſe ſpeeches, what have we to admire, except delicacy of ſentiment, and elegance of diction? How different from the *torrent, tempeſt, and whirlwind of paſſion*, that rouſed, inflamed, and commanded the ſenate, and the people, againſt Catiline and Marc Antony!

(*b*) For the account of Cicero's death by Velleius Paterculus, ſee ſ. xvii. note (*e*). Juvenal aſcribes the murder of the great Roman orator to the ſecond Philippic againſt Antony.

——————Ridenda poemata malo,
Quam te conſpicuæ divina Philippica famæ,
Volveris a primâ quæ proxima. SAT. x. ver. 124.

I rather would be Mævius, thraſh for rhymes
Like his; the ſcorn and ſcandal of the times,
Than the *Philippic*, fatally divine,
Which is inſcrib'd the ſecond, ſhould be mine.
DRYDEN'S JUVENAL.

What Cicero ſays of Antonius, the celebrated orator, may be applied to himſelf: That head, which defended the commonwealth, was ſhewn from

from that very roſtrum, where the heads of ſo many Roman citizens had been ſaved by his eloquence. *In his ipſis roſtris, in quibus ille rempublicam conſtantiſſime conſul defenderat, poſitum caput illud fuit, a quo erant multorum civium capita ſervata.* Cicero *De Oratore*, lib. iii. ſ. 10.

Section XLII.

(*a*) The urbanity with which the Dialogue is conducted, and the perfect harmony with which the ſpeakers take leave of each other, cannot but leave a pleaſing impreſſion on the mind of every reader of taſte. It has ſome reſemblance to the concluſion of Cicero's Dialogue De Natura Deorum. In both tracts, we have a ſpecimen of the politeneſs with which the ancients managed a converſation on the moſt intereſting ſubjects, and by the graces of ſtyle brought the way of inſtructing by dialogue into faſhion. A modern writer, whoſe poetical genius cannot be too much admired, chooſes to call it a *frippery way of writing*. He adviſes his countrymen to abandon it altogether; and this for a notable reaſon: becauſe the Rev. Dr. Hurd (now Biſhop of Worceſter) has ſhewn the true uſe of it. That the dialogues of that amiable writer have an intrinſic value, cannot be denied: they contain a fund of reflection; they allure by the elegance of the ſtyle, and they bring us into company with men, whom we wiſh to hear, to know and to admire. While we have ſuch converſation-pieces, not to mention others of the ſame ſtamp, both ancient and modern, the public taſte, it may be preſumed, will not eaſily be tutored to reject a mode of compoſition, in which the pleaſing and the uſeful are ſo happily blended. The preſent Dialogue, it is true, cannot

not be proved, beyond a controverſy, to be the work of Tacitus; but it is alſo true, that it cannot, with equal probability, be aſcribed to any other writer. It has been retained in almoſt every edition of Tacitus; and, for that reaſon, claims a place in a tranſlation, which profeſſes to give all the works of ſo fine a writer.

CONCLUSION.

THE Author of theſe volumes has now gone through the difficult taſk of tranſlating Tacitus, with the ſuperadded labour of ſupplements to give continuity to the narrative, and notes to illuſtrate ſuch paſſages as ſeemed to want explanation; but he cannot lay down his pen, without taking the liberty of addreſſing a few words to the reader. As what he has to offer, relates chiefly to himſelf, it ſhall be very ſhort. He has dedicated many years of his life to this undertaking; and though, during the whole time, he had the pleaſure and the honour of being acquainted with many gentlemen of taſte and learning, he had no opportunity of appealing to their opinion, or guiding himſelf by their advice. Amidſt the hurry of life, and the various purſuits, in which all are engaged, how could he hope, that any one would be at leiſure to attend to the doubts, the difficulties, and minute niceties which muſt inevitably occur in a writer of ſo peculiar a genius as Tacitus? He was unwilling to be a troubleſome viſitor, and, by conſequence, has been obliged, throughout the whole of his work, to truſt to his own judgment, ſuch as it is. He ſpared

ſpared no pains to do all the juſtice in his power to one of the greateſt writers of antiquity; but whether he has toiled with fruitleſs induſtry, or has in any degree ſucceeded, muſt be left to the judgment of others.

He is now at the end of his labours, and ready, after the example of Monteſquieu, to cry out with the voyager in Virgil, *Italiam! Italiam!* But whether he is to land on a peaceful ſhore; whether the men, who delight in a wreck, are to ruſh upon him with hoſtile pens, which in their hands are pitchforks; whether his cargo is to be condemned, and he himſelf to be wounded, maimed, and lacerated, a little time will diſcover. Such critics will act as their nature prompts them. Should they *cry havoc, and let ſlip the dogs of war*, it may be ſaid,

> Quod genus hoc hominum, quæve hunc tam barbara morem
> Permittit Patria? Hoſpitio prohibemur arenæ;
> Bella cient, primâque vetant conſiſtere terrâ.

This, they may ſay, is anticipating complaint; but, in the worſt that can happen, it is the only complaint this writer will ever make, and the only anſwer they will ever receive from his pen.

It is from a very different quarter that the tranſlator of Tacitus waits for ſolid criticiſm. The men, as Pliny obſerves, who read with malignity, are not the only judges. *Neque enim ſoli judicant, qui malignè legunt.* The ſcholar will ſee defects, but he will pronounce with temper: he will know the difficulty, and, in ſome caſes, perhaps the impoſſibility, of giving in our language the ſentiments of Tacitus with the preciſion and energy of the original; and, upon the whole, he will acknowledge that an attempt to make a conſiderable

rable addition to Engliſh literature, carries with it a plea of ſome merit. While the French could boaſt of having many valuable tranſlations of Tacitus, and their moſt eminent authors were ſtill exerting themſelves, with emulation, to improve upon their predeceſſors, the preſent writer ſaw, with regret, that this country had not ſo much as one tranſlation, which could be read, without diſguſt, by any perſon acquainted with the idiom and ſtructure of our language. To ſupply the deficiency has been the ambition of the tranſlator. He perſevered with ardour; but, his work being finiſhed, ardour ſubſides, and doubt and anxiety take their turn. Whatever the event may be, the conſcious pleaſure of having employed his time in a fair endeavour will remain with him. For the reſt, he ſubmits his labours to the public; and, at that tribunal, neither fluſhed with hope, nor depreſſed by fear, he is prepared, with due acquieſcence, to receive a deciſion, which, from his own experience on former occaſions, he has reaſon to perſuade himſelf will be founded in truth and candour.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.